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# THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE

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## ZUÑI TALES

BY ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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These tales and the two texts were recorded by me in 1918 and 1920, excepting tales 12 and 13 which were recorded in 1920 by Dr. Boas. Several older men were informants, two members of the Little Firebrand society, a member of the Shuma'kwe, a Ne'wekwe. Kyalatsilo (Spruce) of the Shuma'kwe, Klippelanna (Big Weaver) of the Little Firebrand society and Waisilutiwa of the Little Firebrand and Bed Bug societies are now deceased. A younger man interpreted. This youth, who had been trained by Dr. Kroeber, is far and away the best interpreter I have known in Pueblo circles. How good I — was I failed to realize until I worked with



others in other pueblos, among them persons who spoke English much more fluently but were unskilled in close translation and comparatively unteachable. Tales 1 to 12, those interpreted by L—, are as close to the original Zuñi, I think, as it is possible to get in English narrative. "In reading them," Dr. Kroeber writes, "I can hear L— speaking Zuñi."

Bibliography for these tales will be found in the Concordance of Southwest Folktales to be published by the American Folklore Society. For discussion of the formulas of greeting, farewell, etc., of a number of native terms, and of the opening and closing words of a tale, see Parsons, E. C. Notes on Zuñi, 302ff., *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, IV, No. 4. 1917. The songs were transcribed by Helen H. Roberts from phonograph records.

#### I. HOW THE SHUMA'KWE CAME UP<sup>1</sup>.

*Inote* at the beginning, where the people came out, they came out the last, Shumakoli and Saiyapa and their children. Saiyapa were bow priests (*apilashiwanni*). When they all came out, they stayed there. At last their father Shumakoli said to them, "Now we are going to start." They all started to the east. They went far. At last they stopped. "Now let us all stop here," their father said. "We will stop here, because if we go far, our food medicine will be all gone and it would not be right." So they stopped and his bow priest said, "I believe he will send us back where we began." At night their father called out, "Come to me!" Then when they reached him, he said, "Now, both of you go back to where we began and get your food medicine. If we go far, it would all be gone, it would not be right. So while we are still near, we should get more." — "All right, we will go. Of course we are the ones to do whatever you want." So they started back at night. When they got almost close to where they came out on their way, they saw them growing and they said one to the other, "I believe these are what we came after." — "I think so, too," said the other. "Pick it and smell it." So the other pulled it up and smelled it. "Yes, this is what we have come after. How many are we to take?" So they looked for a larger one. When they found it, they pulled it out. "Let us take this to our father. This will be enough," they said

<sup>1</sup> Informant, Kyalatsilo of the Shuma'kwe society. Aged about 65. Shiwuli (Shumaekoli) [the mask] came from the Hopi, said Kyalatsilo, before he was born. Later, while he was a member of the society, Shumaekoli came from Laguna and later still from Sia. All these Shumaekoli are the same. How they started elsewhere, he did not know, but he would tell, he said, how they started at Zuñi, or rather he would tell a part of it, the whole story may be told only at the initiation ceremonial. I surmise that an origin myth, a migration myth, may be told at the initiation into every society as in the case of the Shuma'kwe and the Kotikyanne (Kachina society). (Parsons, E. C. *The Origin Myth of Zuñi*. JAFLL 36: 135—162. 1923.)

one to the other. So they went back. When they went back they showed it. "Is this the one you wanted us to get?" — "Yes," he said. Then he called his children to wash their heads and wash their bodies. When they had washed, they began to grind the medicine (*akwawe*) (their only food).

They stayed there four days (*awiten tewawe*)<sup>1</sup> and after four days they started again. "Now, my children, we are going to start for another place," he said to them. Then they all started again. They kept on till they came to the other place. Then they stopped there again. Now we are going to stay here for another four days. So they lived there four days. After four days their father said, "We are going to start again for another place." Again they came to the other place. Their father said, "We are to stop here now and stay four days." So they all stopped and stayed four days. After four days their father said again, "Now we go again to another place," so they kept on going. At last they came to Koluwala'wa<sup>2</sup>. On the north side they stopped in the evening. As soon as the sun went down, they heard the singing at the lake. They said to each other, "You all hear the singing?" — "Yes." — "They are our fathers, our children who came before us. They live here. You two go and ask them if they will let us stay and hear them. This is a good place to stay," he said to his two bow priests (*Saiyapa*). "All right," they said. So they went. When they got close, they were dancing and singing. They were all happy. They went in. The people inside said, "Now wait and stay for a while. Our fathers, our children are coming. Maybe there is some news they come to tell us." So they all stopped dancing. Everybody sat down. And they asked them, "Now, our fathers, why have you come? Perhaps there is some news you come to tell us, and where you come from." They said to them, "We are from where you began. You have come before us. Here thus far you have made your living. This evening when we came we were on the north side from you people. We heard you singing and our father sent us over to ask you if you will let us stay here with your people. He said this is a good place to stay." Thus said they to the people. They said, "All right, if you people want to stay near us, you may stay, but if you want to come and live with us, we have plenty of room for you people." Thus said they to them. "All right," they said, "we are going." When they went back they told their father just the opposite.<sup>3</sup> Shumakoli said, "Well, if they do not want us to stay, we shall go to another place."

From Koluwala'wa they started to the north. They kept on. In some places they stayed two days, in some places four days. They kept on moving like that. He took his children so far that the children and the bow priests were angry. Some said, "Where is he going to take us? Here is a good place to live, but every day he keeps on moving." They went

<sup>1</sup> Informant explained four days was a word for four years.

<sup>2</sup> The lake under which live the Koko, the masked spirits.

<sup>3</sup> "It is hard to make you understand," said our interpreter; inverse speech, he meant.



back east. They kept on going. His children got tired and angry. He was *aiuchi* (magical). So every day he made the long distance short so he could go so far in a day (shortened up the distance) till they got back to the East. There they stopped.

Next day their father Sun came out. Then he asked his father, "My father Sun, I have come to talk to you. I want you to tell me where to live. I come to ask you if you will send me to some place to live forever, then I will take my children there to live. I have been coming here for so many years." Thus said he to his father. "No, I am not going to tell you where to live. You think about it yourself. You take your children some place to live. I am not going to tell you where to live," Sun said to him. "I thought you would tell me where to live, that is why we came back to ask you," he said. So they stayed there for a while.

Then they all started back. They kept on moving every day. In some places they lived two years, in some places four years. Sometimes they moved every day. And their children got so tired, they got sore feet and sore legs. Some of them cried and scolded their father. "Where are you going to take us? Here is a good place to live. There are so many good places to live. What better do you want?" said they to their father. But their father kept on moving with them. At last they came to Chipiakwi. They stopped there and their father said to his bow priests, "We will stay here and you two go on top of the mountain and see if it is a good place to live." — "All right," they said. So they two went up on the mountain. They looked around and they saw a spring, and they went there. "Here is a good place to live, I think we will stay here and live here. Let us go and tell our father and see what he will say." So they came down. When they came down, their father asked them, "How is it? Is it a good place to live?" — "Yes," they said. So he took all his children up.

So they lived there for many years. And people heard that they lived there and they went there and tried to fight with them. All the different tribes gathered together and did not want them to live there. They fought. The Shumaekoli people were but few and many came to fight them. Many fought them. He told his children, "Now you all go out and fight; go a little way from the lake. When they come near, and you move back, move back four times from where you stand, i. e. four steps back each time. When they all come up close, I will come out." They all came up close. They sent word to their father inside the lake to come out and help them. Their father said, "Let them all come near." At last they sent word in again, "Now come out, they are all close up." — "I shall be out soon," he said. At last he came out. When he came out, his children were fighting, and he went in front of his children, running back and forth between the people, making a noise (as in the dance). When everybody got near, he turned the *liakwe* (turquoise) loose. He killed all the people. Everyone was killed. Only one was left. And he

said, "Only one is saved. Let him go back to his people and tell every village about it, so they will not come to fight us any more." — "I do not want to kill a lot of my children. They are all our children that live around here. I have killed so many of them because they wanted to come and kill us. They have no right to do that. I hope they will not come and fight us any more, but if they do not stop, there will be more of them killed again." That is all.

## 2. SHUMAEKOLI CONTESTS.<sup>1</sup>

Shumaekoli had a contest (*iatsumani*) with Koko lanna.<sup>2</sup> Shumaekoli told Koko lanna to begin.<sup>3</sup> Koko lanna did something to Shumaekoli so that he swelled up all over,<sup>4</sup> all of him was affected except his heart. He was so swollen his eyes became small.<sup>5</sup> "How do you feel?" asked Koko lanna. "I have no feeling," said Shumaekoli. "Now make me well again." Koko lanna made him well again. "Now I will do something to you," said Shumaekoli. He gave Koko lanna cramps all over.<sup>6</sup> In a little while he cried out, he told Shumaekoli to make him well. Shumaekoli was ahead, he won.

Poshaiyanki traveled through all the villages. He was jealous of Shumaekoli. He contested (*atsumakya*) with him. The first trial between Shumaekoli and Poshaiyanki was for rain. Shumaekoli won. The second trial was with animals, to see how many each had. Shumaekoli gathered together wood rat, deer, jack rabbit, rabbit. Poshaiyanki gathered together bear, sheep, and all the animals except the four Shumaekoli had.<sup>7</sup>

Poshaiyanki had a brother. His brother got angry. He got a stone. He said, "I will kill you if you keep on doing these things with Shumaekoli." Poshaiyanki said he was going on with them. His brother killed him. Shumaekoli came and said, "Why did you do that? It was not right to kill him." His brother said, "I killed him because he wanted to go on contesting with you."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Informant, Kyalatsilo.

<sup>2</sup> "Big Kachina" of the Big Firebrand society.

<sup>3</sup> A fragment of the usual pattern of contest where each is insistent upon the other beginning.

<sup>4</sup> The Big Firebrand society are called upon to reduce swellings. In accordance with the Pueblo Indian habit of thought, they can therefore cause swellings.

<sup>5</sup> An explanation here of why the eyes in the mask of Koko lanna are so small.

<sup>6</sup> The Shuma'kwe cure for cramps, convulsions, rheumatism.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Parsons, E. C. Nativity Myth at Laguna and Zuñi, JAFI, XXXI (1918), 262—3.

<sup>8</sup> Another incident of the many that bring the Poshaiyanki myth into association with the Jesus myth.

3. BUSH MAN.<sup>1</sup>

*Inote* at the beginning, there lived at A'tsinawa (north mesa on top) a little man named Tsiposho. There were villages all around. All the people in these villages would go in turn to get wood. Tsiposho would sit on the mountain watching them go for wood. If he saw some one approach him, he had bread with a hole in the middle of it and a string tied to it which he would throw and kill the person coming. With that bread he would kill people and drag them into his house. In his house there was a passage going far in. That was where he thrust in the dead. The straps the man carried wood with, in the other room he would hang up.

The people around the village found out that their people did not come back home. They thought about the little man Tsiposh. All the people of the village made a plan to kill him. All the people gathered together and went up the mountain and hid themselves around his house hole. Before sunrise he started from the bottom. When he came out he made a noise with the stones fastened around his legs. When the sun (yellow light) came out, his head came out, too. When the sun was up, he came out. He looked around. He said, "Look at the people hiding." Then he ran into his hole. After a while he came out again. He walked a little way. There were *tsiposhe* (some kind of bushes) growing around. He took the berries of the *tsiposhe* and ate them. When he went farther away the people began to run after him. He ran fast back to his hole and ran into it. Then the people had a hard time to catch him. They did not catch him. The people went back home. The next day they went again to try to catch him. When they reached his hole they hid around again. They waited there for him before sunrise. Before sunrise his head came out. At sunrise his whole head came out. As the sun moved he moved out. When the sun was up he came out and he said, "Look at the people hiding around." Then he walked about his hole. This side the people were hiding, others on the other side, and some on this side, the people were hiding in every direction. "Let me eat," he said. So he ate off the bushes. When he went a little way off, he said, "Oh, look at the people hiding!" Then the people began to run after him. Some almost caught him, some touched him, but he was smooth and strong. So he slipped away. Before they could catch him he jumped up into the air and went way up. He looked down into his hole, he went straight down into his hole. They could not catch him. They waited again for him. When he came out and looked around, he said, "They are still hiding around. I am going to eat." So he ate around. When he went far out the people who could run fast chased him. He did not run to his hole. He ran this side near the edge of the mountain. Then he turned and ran near Kolliwa. From there he turned back and some people just touched him, but he slipped away. At last he jumped up into the air. He went to his hole and he looked down

<sup>1</sup> Informant, Kyalatsilo.



into it and went down into it. Then the people said, "How are we going to catch him? There is no way to catch him. He runs faster than we do. Our fast runners chased him, when he got tired he would go up into the air," they said to each other.

They all started back home and talked about it as they went. "Tomorrow we will come again. They who have blankets and women's dresses bring them. When he comes out, we will chase him. Some of you stay and wait in his hole and put blankets and dresses over his hole and hold them tight. Maybe we will catch him that way. When we run after him and he gets tired he will go up into the air and when he comes down into his hole, he will be kept from going into it. Maybe we will catch him," they said. When they came back home, the next day some took blankets and dresses and went up to his hole. They hid around again. He came out again with the sun and walked around his hole. "Oh, look at the people hiding again! They are hiding in every direction. I am going to eat again," he said. So he ate off the bushes. When he went a little way from the hole the people ran again after him. He did not run to his hole. He ran to the north and all chased him. Some went to the hole and covered the hole with blankets and dresses and the others chased him. When he got tired, he jumped up into the air again. When he went straight down to his hole he came down and went into the hole with the blankets and dresses covering his hole. He went in with them, they slipped out of the people's hands. Then the people said, "We can not catch him. There is no way to catch him." So they all started back. When they came back home they stayed home and ate.

At Tewankonanpanina the two Aihayuta<sup>1</sup> (War gods) lived with their grandmother.<sup>2</sup> They knew what the people had been trying to do. At night their grandmother said to them, "My grandsons, do not ever go way over to the mountain. There lives a man who kills everybody. All our people in every village going to get wood never come back. You might go and never come back. That is why I tell you not to go." — "No, we will not go. If some one is mean and kills everybody, why should we go?" they said to their grandmother. The next day they went out hunting and they went to Apkwinna (Black Rock). They came near the river. There they found two round stones and they lifted them up. They worked them and made holes in them, all day. When they finished drilling a hole big enough for their heads to go in, each tried one on his head, and it just fitted. Then they made holes for their eyes. When they finished them, they said, "Now this way we will be all right. Let him do what he wants. Now let us go." They carried the stones to their house. When they reached home they hid them so their grandmother would not see them. They went into their house. Their grandmother asked them, "Where have you been?" — "We were hunting around, but

<sup>1</sup> So referred to throughout.

<sup>2</sup> *Hota*, mother's mother, throughout.

we did not kill anything." So they ate. Before they slept, their grandmother said again, "My grandsons, do not ever go over to the mountain where I told you not to go. If you go there, he will kill both of you." — "All right, we will not go," said they to their grandmother. The next day they ate. "Now, brother, let us go out hunting. I hope we will kill something," one said to the other. So they went out and got their stones and went a little way down across the river. When they got to Kolliwa road they stopped. Older brother said, "Now, brother, let us make kick-sticks and we will run so we will get there quick." So they carried the stones on their back and they ran and they talked to one another as they ran kicking the stick. "Brother, hurry! Do not give up! I am coming," one said to the other.

When they came to Atsina road, he saw them coming at a run. He stayed in the mountain watching them. "Two boys are coming. They are coming to die," he said. So he walked a little way towards the west. There he stopped. The two came on running, talking one to the other. "Now, brother, I am going to pass," said Younger Brother. "All right!" said Older Brother. When they got close to the mountain Older Brother said, "Let us stop here!" So they stopped. "Let us fix ourselves." Before they put the stones over their heads, he hollered, o---u! The two said, "Who is hollering at us?" Again he hollered, o---u! "Some one must be here," he said, so they put on their stones. They went a little way. Then Tsiposho threw his biscuit with the hole. Then he hit Older Brother. (He hits on the side of the head.) "Who hits me?" he said. "Some one must be throwing something at us," they said. "Now, brother, let us watch him. Next time when he throws at one of us, we will try and catch him." So they stood there for a while. Then he threw it down again. He hit Older Brother again in the same place. Younger Brother caught hold of the biscuit and he dragged him up and he hollered out, "Come help me! I am going up." So his brother went up and caught hold of him. They both caught hold of it. Tsiposho was too strong for them. They kept pulling at each other; but they kept going up. They pulled hard down, but they were pulled up by Tsiposho. They hollered, "Do not let go! Some one is very strong." Before they reached the top of the mountain the yucca rope was cut and they fell down. "Let us go up! I wonder where he is." So they followed the tracks of Tsiposho. They followed on and they saw his tracks going down into the hole. They looked into the hole and they listened, and the little Tsiposho was talking to himself: "I hit one of them twice, but he did not die. Some one must be magical (*aiuchinan*), because when I hit any one once he always dies," so he talked to himself while the Aihayuta listened. Younger Brother asked Older Brother, "What are we going to do now? How can we catch him? If we wait here, I know he won't come out. I do not think we will catch him," he said. "Think about what we shall do. We want to kill him. If we do not kill him, he will kill more of our children. So it is better for him to die," one said to the other.



Older Brother said, "What if we went to the Mukwinakwe (Hopi)? We will ask them there to come and catch him because our children here have tried to catch him and failed. If he had pulled us up where he stands, we would have caught him," one said to the other. "Shall we go back home and tell our grandmother?" Older Brother asked. "No, do not let us go, because if we go back and tell her about it, she will scold us. She will tell us not to go. Let us go from here." So they started for the Hopi without telling their grandmother. They hid their stones where he could not find them. They started for the Hopi. They kept on running all day and in the evening they got to the Hopi. When they got there, the people looked at them and they looked ugly and the people there asked them where they came from. "We came from Itiwannakwi. At our place there lives on the north side up in the mountain a little man, Tsiposhö. He has killed all our children and our people have tried to catch him. When he came out from his hole, they chased him and they caught him. He is strong and smooth, so they can not hold him. When he gets tired, he goes up in the air and comes straight down to his hole and goes in. They tried to put blankets and dresses over his hole. He came down and went into the hole with them. This morning before we came we went up in the mountain. He threw down some bread with a hole in it. He hit me twice. We got hold of it and he pulled us up from the bottom to the top. He is strong. Before we got to the top of the mountain the rope cut, then he ran off. If the rope had not cut, we would have gone up where he was and caught him. We followed his track to his hole. He went down into his hole. That is why we came to ask you people to go and catch him for us." — "All right!" they said.

So the next day the two started out with the Amukwe. They brought their black blankets and buckskins and woven rabbit skins. They were given two days. When they arrived at Halona the War gods told the people, "We come to let you know tomorrow we will go and try to catch Tsiposhö again, because if we do not catch him all our children will be killed by him. That is why we went to the Hopi and bring these men." — "All right," said they. That night they all went up the mountain. When they got there, they said one to the other, "Tomorrow morning when he comes out, do not any one run out. He will come out with the sun. That is the way he does. Before sunrise his head appears, and when the sun comes out, his head comes out, as the sun rises, he comes out. When he comes out and goes a little way off, do not run after him, do not run till he goes to the bushes to eat the berries." So said the Aihayuta. Next morning when the sun came out, he kept on coming out. When he came out from his hole, he said, "There are the people hiding on the north side and some this side, and some this, they are hiding in every direction. Let them hide around. If they run after me, I do like this," he said. "If they try to chase me, I will turn back like this and run in." He tried it, and he would run in now and again. He went far off from his hole. "Oh,

look at the people hiding on this side! If they come around like this, I will run," he said. At last he got to the bushes. "Let them hide!" he said. "I am going to eat." He was eating around. Then they began to chase him. He ran as fast as he could. He did not run to his hole. He ran to the north and the people ran after him and the Hopi went to the hole. They put the black blankets in the bottom. On top they put the white blankets worn by the Koko, the buckskins and rabbit skins. They fixed it while the others chased Tsiposho. He went far with the men who chased him. He turned back when he was tired and went to the same place where he had been. When he came close to his hole, the men near the hole chased him. Then he went up into the air. He looked straight down to his hole, then he came down. He went in, but his head got stuck in the rabbit skins. He was hanging in the hole. Then the Aihayuta caught him. Then the people tied up his arms and legs. They asked him, "Who is your father, and who is your mother? How did you grow up?" the Aihayuta asked him. "My father is Sun, and my mother is Moon, they brought me up. My father is Sun, that is the reason I keep coming up before the day light. I come out the same time my father comes up. That is the way we are," he told them.

Then the Aihayuta said to the people, "Now you stay up with him here and we will go down." So they looked into the hole. There was no way to go down. So they called their grandmother, Spider. A little way from where the people were, lived their Grandmother Spider. She came to them. Then the Aihayuta told her that they wanted to go down into the hole. "All right," she said. So she put down her basket. The Aihayuta went into the basket. "Both shut your eyes while you go down!" — "All right," they said. So they went down into the first room. There they got out. They looked around; they saw a lot of different kinds of corn. They looked in the other room; they saw all the clothes of the people he had killed and the straps they used to carry the wood and their stone axes; and they looked in the other room and they saw a lot of dead persons. "He had been killing a lot of people. He just killed them, he did not eat them. When we go out, we will kill him because it is not right for him to live any longer." They went into the second room. They got the clothes and the straps and made a bundle and they did something to it (magically) and made it smaller. They went out with it; they put it in their grandmother's basket. They shook the web for the spider to pull it up. So she drew it up. They went back to the first room and they said to the corn, "Now, our children, you are not to stay here any more. Tonight you will be at our house all at once," they said. They took a few ears of corn of each color. And they went out and their grandmother sent down the basket and they went into it and they shook the web for her to draw it up. Their Grandmother Spider pulled them up. When they went out they said, "Now we bring these clothes and straps for you to pick out because some of you will know the clothing of your brother



or uncle or father." So the people picked out these things and said, "This belonged to my father, this to my brother, this to my uncle," and they took their own. "There are a lot of dead inside. He did not eat them up, he only killed them, he did not eat them. It was bad of him to do that. He had better die now. Our father Sun, he is the one to do it, not we<sup>1</sup> — so our people may go and get wood and nothing happen to them." So Older Brother took out his club and he hit his head. Younger Brother did the same. When he died then Older Brother took out his stone knife and cut down his breast and took out his heart. "Now you should belong to the star that comes out last in the morning, Star Liar." So he threw it. Then he took out his liver. "Now you belong up in the sky, Lupiañanne, so you will move towards the west while the corn grows till you get to Uhenakwi (in the southwest), then the corn will grow ripe." So he threw it up. Then he took his head, "Now you go to the east. You will be one of the Seven Stars (Ipilakya)." So he threw it up. "Now I hope this time our people will be all right, that nothing will happen to them any more." So they all went back home. Thus it happened long ago.

#### 4. THE TURKEYS HELP: WITCH CATERPILLAR.<sup>2</sup>

*Inote* at Kechipan there lived a Shiwanni boy (i. e. the son of a rain priest family) with his grandmother alone. A little way from the village they lived by themselves. For some reason the people did not treat them well. The people in the village hated these two. There was nothing for them to eat. Her grandson said, "Now, grandmother, would it be all right if we went to Mukwinakwi? The people there might be kind to us." — "Well, grandson, we can not go because I can not walk that far, I am old. There is no way for us to go," she said to him. So they lived there a while. He said again to his grandmother, "Grandmother, are we very poor? Have we any relations (*ianikinane*), any place?" His grandmother said, "Yes. You have grandfathers (*anana*) at Tonateanawa (turkey tracks), there they live. You may go there. They might tell you what it will be right for us to do." — "In what direction?" he asked. "You go straight to the east. You will find them there," she said to him. So he went out. As he went along, at last he came to Klauwatapana. There were little turkeys there. They were thrashing small seeds. When he came there, they said, "Have you come?" — "Yes. Where do you live?" — "We live a little way from here." — "Take me along," he said.

So the little turkeys took him along to their house. When they took him in, there was no one inside. They had all gone to the forest to pick piñon. "You wait. They will be here soon." So he waited there. After a while two of them came. They put out baskets and dumped their piñon nuts there. They took off their shirts and hung them up. And the rest

<sup>1</sup> Old people would say this, i. e. a proverbial saying.

<sup>2</sup> Informant, Klippelanna.



came in, and they dumped their nuts into the basket. When the basket filled up, they put out another for the rest. And the rest came, and they put out another basket. They waited for one another. They all came in. They said to the boy, "Have you come?" — "Yes." — "Now why have you come here? There may be some reason that you came to us. So you may let us know," they said to him. "Yes," he said, "in our village no one treats us well. We have no relations there. We are very poor. That is why I come. My grandmother sent me. You may know of something we can do." — "All right," they said. One of them stood up. He went into the other room, and he brought out red beads (*alahomowe*). He brought them out and he gave them to the boy. "Is this all?" they asked him. "I do not know. You know what else to do." He went in again and brought out *hiakwa achapin* (turquoise burned). "Is this all?" the boy asked. "Wait," they said. "Now each of us will give feathers to him," they said to their children. "All right. You may pluck from each of us." So the boy pulled out feathers from each turkey. "Now, when you start out you go to Halonakwe. There, when you get near, you turn part of these red beads loose [sprinkle], you say, "Today our father Sun has come out. Anyone that wakes up early will find these red beads and will have luck (*anichiakyana*) in getting these beads." This is what you will say in turning them loose. When you get to your own village again, say the same words and turn them loose. And when you get to your house, fix up prayer-sticks for us with our feathers. From there we will get your prayer-sticks."

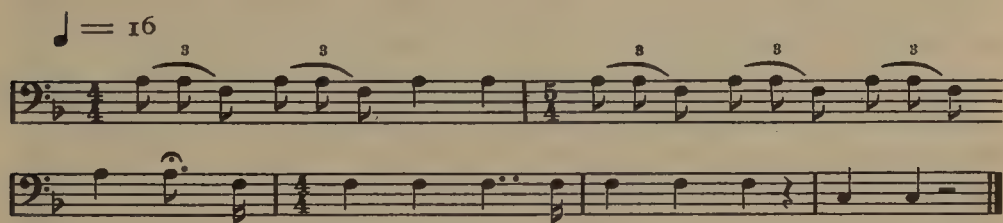
So the boy went out. As he came near the village, he said, "Today our father Sun has come out. Anyone that wakes up early will find these red beads and will have luck in getting these beads," and he turned the red beads loose. Then he went on to Kechipaakwi. As he came near he repeated the prayer (*tensupenan*), "Today our father Sun has come out. Anyone that wakes up early will find these red beads and will have luck in getting these beads." He turned them loose. Then he went to his house. The next day he said to his grandmother, "Have we a willow stick?" — "I think so, your father used to use it." — "Get one for me," he said to her. So his grandmother got the willow for him. Then he worked on the prayer-sticks. When he finished them, he asked his grandmother, "Have our old ones (*aklashinawe*) any fields?" — "Yes," she said. "There is our field on the east side of the village," she said. "I will go there and give these prayer-sticks to my fathers, to my mothers." So he went out and went to his old ones' fields. There he put in his prayer-sticks.

In the evening all the turkeys said one to another, "We must go to our child, we will take him everything that we have here." — "All right," they said. So they all went out and went at night to the boy's house. They went inside, and they were sleeping. And each one wet in his mouth a *klo'o*<sup>1</sup> and with it touched the pole across the roof, and there were many

<sup>1</sup> *Klo'o* means hard. White or red or turquoise beads are thus called.

strings hanging there, and each touched the pole with the bits of buckskin and women's blankets and corn they carried, and there were buckskin and blankets and corn there.<sup>1</sup> They went out, they said to one another, "Now from here we will scatter everywhere. It won't be right for us always to live together. Those of us that can go farthest, may go on the high mountains, and others of us will be around here," they said to one another. So they all went off. That day when they woke up, they saw all different kinds of beads, red, white, they saw buckskin, and blankets. His grandmother went inside her other rooms where there had been nothing. There she saw corn and everything to eat. Grandmother said, "Our children have brought everything for us." So they lived there.

In a few days the boy said again, "We have everything, but we are very poor. We have no relations. Is there anybody related to us anywhere?" he asked his grandmother again. "Yes," she said. "Go to the west, near Koluwelakwi, to Tsokliknawa; there lives your uncle (*kyakya*, mother's brother). You may go there." So he went there. When he came near, the boy living there was singing. When he got near, he heard him singing, and he went in there. "Have you come?" he said. "My uncle, *konotewananate* (how are you living)?" — "*Ketsanishi* (happy). Wait. If I am your uncle, do what I do. If you do the same, then you are my relation." So he stood up and went into the other room and put on his *kyechialawe* (high leggings with buckskin fringe). Then he put on his parrot feathers and his *pilan* (kachina kilt) and *molimopikwin* (kachina girdle). Then he came out. He stood up where his turquoise was standing. Then he began to sing:



ana  
huli huli  
aiya au

When he finished singing, he said, "Now you do the same." And the boy had heard him singing when he came and he had got his song, but he said, "I can not sing when I have heard you but once." — "Well, you try. If you sing like me, then you are my *kyase* (sister's son)." So he stood up and walked to where his turquoise stone stood. He stood on top of it and began to sing,

ana  
huli huli  
aiya au

<sup>1</sup> All such little bits from which quantities are supposed to come are called *tehakchowe*. Bits of food put into the water of the river for the dead are so called.

When he finished the song, he said, "*Halli*,<sup>1</sup> *ellakwa* (thanks). You are my nephew now. We will both be the same." So he went in and brought out things like he wore — the blue moccasins for him and all the things such as he wore. "Now put on these. When you go back home, tell your grandmother to clean the room, and you will do like this (i. e. as they had danced)," he said to him. "On your way you keep on singing," he said to him. "All right," he said. "I go, my uncle," he said. "All right, you go." So he went out and started home. He sang on his way.

When he got home his grandmother saw him. When he got there he went in. He told his grandmother to clean the room, and his grandmother cleaned the room. He stood up and sang the song of his uncle,

ana  
huli huli  
aiya au

When he finished the song, all the hanging beads shook and made a noise. "Oh, my grandson, where did you get this?" — "This is the way my uncle does. And he told me to do the same here," he said to his grandmother.

During that time the boy went out to hunt. Every time he went out, he brought home a deer, he killed deer all the time. When spring came, he said to his grandmother, "It is time to work. I will begin to plant corn," he said to his grandmother. "Prepare *towshowe* (different grains of corn) for me." So he worked on prayer-sticks and his grandmother prepared the seeds for him — yellow corn, red corn, blue corn, and the different colors of corn, and seeds of watermelons and pumpkins and squash and beans of all different colors. When he finished his prayer-sticks he took his seeds and took all his prayer-sticks and he went to the field. There he put in his prayer-sticks and began to plant. First he planted yellow corn, two *aptsinawe*,<sup>2</sup> then blue, two *aptsinawe*, and two *aptsinawe* of each color of corn. Then he began to plant watermelon, pumpkin, and squash. Then he began on beans. He planted all the different colors. When he finished, he went up to his grandmother. In a few days he went to see his field and everything had begun to grow. He looked all over and went back home. He went back in a few days to see and the corn had begun to grow (indicating two or three feet) and everything was growing. He went back home. In a few days he went to see them and everything was in blossom.

When the people saw his field and everything growing, some witches were very jealous. One night they met together and said, "What shall we do? There is a boy who has raised a lot of corn and beans." And they talked about it. At last they said, "We will make caterpillars (*amewiwe*). Which of us will do it?" They were *ashiwanni* (rainpriests). "I will do it," said one of them. "When these caterpillars begin to eat, everything will

<sup>1</sup> "If I find something, I say *halli*! He said that because he did it right."

<sup>2</sup> Equal to an acre.



be dried up." One of them was the uncle of the boy. So he went to the house of the boy. When he went in, his grandmother gave him to eat. When he finished eating, they asked, "Why have you come? You have never come before. Why do you come?" He said, "I come to tell you that the people in the village, the rain priests, are talking about making everything you have planted dry up." — "How are they going to do it?" — "They are going to make caterpillars that will eat all the blossoms, so they will dry up. They will climb up every corn stalk and chew every hair of the silk of the corn." — "Do you know anything we can do?" asked the boy. "Yes," he said. "Have you any burned turquoise?" — "Yes." — "Dig a hole, and put this burned turquoise in the bottom and catch a caterpillar and put it in the hole and tell it to go down into the dark earth and tell it to come out in midsummer when all the weeds have grown; and cover up the hole." Next day the boy went down to the field and looked around. At last he found a caterpillar. He was eating the corn. He took the caterpillar and made a hole and put in the burned turquoise. And the caterpillar, said, "Please, nephew, let me live." — "All right. I will let you live," he was holding the caterpillar. "Now you go down to the bottom of the world. You will be always as you are now, but you will come out only in midsummer when weeds of all kinds have grown. That is the time you are to come out. You will live on the weeds." When he promised him this, he threw him in. Then he walked away to his house.

The next few days, as they waited, they heard nothing of the caterpillar. One night they met again and talked about it. "We will do it again, because we do not want this boy to raise things. We want all his things to dry up. With what shall we do it?" — "With a grey worm. It will eat up everything. Now which of us shall go?" One said, "I will do it." So they all went home to sleep, and the uncle of the boy went to his house and told them what they were going to do, and he told the boy to do what he had done before. Next day the boy went down to the field and looked around. At last he found a grey worm. He was eating the corn. He took the grey worm and made a hole and put in the burned turquoise. And the grey worm said, "Please, nephew, let me live." — "All right. I will let you live," he was holding the worm. "Now you go down to the bottom of the world. You will be always as you are now, but you will come out only in midsummer when weeds of all kinds have grown. That is the time you are to come out. You will live on the weeds." When he promised him this, he threw him in. Then he walked away to his house.

They met again and talked about it. "We will do it again, because we do not want this boy to raise things. We want all his things to dry up." — "With what shall we do it?" — "With the same worm, only let it be blue. It will eat up everything." — "Now which of us shall go?" One said, "I will do it." So they all went home to sleep, and the uncle of the boy

went to his house and told them what they were going to do, and he told the boy to do what he had done before. Next day the boy went down to the field and looked around. At last he found a blue worm. He was sitting on a gourd. He took the blue worm and made a hole and put in the burned turquoise, and the worm said, "Please, nephew, let me live." — "All right. I will let you live," he was holding the worm. "Now you go down to the bottom of the world. You will be always as you are now, but you will come out only in midsummer when weeds of all kinds have grown. That is the time you are to come out. You will live on the weeds." When he promised him this, he threw him in. Then he walked away to his house.

They met again and talked about it. "We will do it again, because we do not want this boy to raise things. We want all his things to dry up." — "With what shall we do it?" — "With the same worm, only let it be red. It will eat up everything." — "Now which of us shall go?" One said, "I will do it." So they all went home to sleep, and the uncle of the boy went to his house and told them what they were going to do, and he told the boy to do what he had done before. Next day the boy went down to the field and looked around. At last he found a worm. He was eating the corn. He took the worm and made a hole and put in the burned turquoise, and the worm said, "Please, nephew, let me live." — "All right. I will let you live," he was holding the worm. "Now you go down to the end of the field. You will be always like you are now, but you will come out only in midsummer when weeds of all kinds have grown. You will live on the weeds." When he promised him this, he threw him in. Then he walked away to his house.

The rain priests met and talked about it. "We will do it again, because we do not want this boy to raise things. We want all his things to dry up. Now which of us shall go?" Their father (*awan tachu*) said, "I will do it myself now. I will go as a butterfly when he goes to his field. I will go there as a butterfly and he will turn into a butterfly and fly away. I will go because I do not want him to have all the growing things." So they all went home to sleep, and the uncle of the boy went to his house and told them what they were going to do. He said, "Have you cotton?" — "Yes." — "Get it!" he said to his grandmother, and she went in and brought out the cotton, and she made threads from the cotton. "Get a stick!" said the man. The boy made a round stick so long (indicating one and one-half feet) and he made a hole in the stick and put red stone and burned turquoise into the hole in the stick. The old woman had made the thread. He tied the string to the stick and he rolled the thread around the stick. "Tomorrow you go down to your field and he will come as a butterfly. When he comes near, you blow him into this stick. You let the stick loose and the wind will blow it off. Hold one end of the string and keep rolling the string and follow it and when you get to where he lives, you make him come out of the stick and send him to the south and



promise him to let him come here in summer to live in the flowers." Next day the boy went down to the field. When he looked round he saw no one. He returned home. He returned to the field and waited around the field. He said, "Now, my fathers, come with a strong wind." The wind began to blow hard. Then he saw the butterfly. When he came near he blew him into the stick. The wind blew the stick with the string. He followed the string. When he got there, he made him come out of the stick. The man said, "Now, my son, let me live." — "All right. I will let you live. Go to the south forever. There live during the winter. In mid-summer you will come to live in the flowers." He let him loose and the wind blew him to the south. And he went home. His uncle came down. "That is the last time they have done tricks (*atsumanakya*) on you. They won't say anything about it." — "All right."

Next day the boy went off hunting. In the afternoon he brought a deer. Again the next day he went hunting. He got to Kyapkwenakwi (Caliente). There were people living there. He was very thirsty and he went down to the spring to drink and a girl came down to get water. He said to her, "Have you come?" — "Yes, I came down to get water." The girl said to him, "Will you go to my house with me?" — "Where is your house?" — "On top here," she said. So when she got the water, he went up with her. He stayed there. In the afternoon he went back home. He had no deer with him. His grandmother said, "Where have you been? Did you kill no deer?" — "No," he said, "I was not hunting. I was on the other side at Kyapkwenakwi and a girl took me up to her house and I stayed there." So he stayed at home. The next day he went off again and went to the girl's house. The girl asked, "Where is your house?" — "I live at Kechipa," he said. "I want to go with you to your house," she said. "All right." So the girl put meal in a basket, carried it on her head and went with him. He got there with her at his house. They stayed there. The next day he went nowhere, he stayed at home. He gave clothes to his wife, and moccasins. He told his grandmother to clean the room. So his grandmother cleaned the room. After she had cleaned up, he said to his wife and his grandmother to sit down. Then he stood up and went into the other room, put on the clothes his uncle had given him. He came out and stood up in the middle of the room and danced and sang:

ana  
huli huli  
aiya au

When he finished singing, he cried out (*ikokokya*).<sup>1</sup> Everything hanging on the walls made a noise. Then the girl said, "Do you live like this?" — "Yes, this is the way we are to amuse ourselves because the people of the town are not kind to us." And they lived there.

<sup>1</sup> All the Koko have a call.

The next day he went down to see his corn fields and everything had begun to get ripe. He went back home. That night two bow priests came to his house and they asked him how would it be if they made him their leader (*shiwanni*) to take care of the people (*kluellan chauwillikyan*)<sup>1</sup>. He said he would not do it. And they kept on asking him. But he said he would not do it. They asked him four times, but he said he would not do it. "All right, we are going." So they went out and went back home. At night the rain priests met again to talk about it. "We will make the boy our chief (*mosona*). Even if he does not want to be, we will make him," said they to one another. So two of them went again to his house. When they went in, "Our child, *konotetewananate*," they said. "*Ketsanishi*," he said. So they told them to sit down and they gave them to eat. And they asked, "What have you come for?" — "Our fathers (*atachu*) have sent us here to ask you to be our leader (to make you rain priest) and take care of the people." — "No, I do not want to," he said. "Yes, we are going to make you." And they asked his wife to tell her husband to do it. But the girl did not want to. She did not want her husband to be rain priest. When he did not want to, they said, "Well, we are going." So they went out and went back and told them that he did not want to be rain priest. "Yes, he will be. We will ask him tomorrow again." So they went to their houses. The next night the rain priests sent the two bow priests for the boy and his wife and they took them to the house of the rain priests. There they asked him to be their father, to be rain priest. He did not want it; but they kept on telling him to be rain priest and take his father's place. His father used to be the head chief (*ashiwanni tanan*) in the set of rain priests. But the boy kept on saying he did not want it. But they wanted him badly, and they talked to him all night. At last the boy said, "I am not going to be rain priest while we live in this village. If you want me to be rain priest, our people will all go to Itiwannakwi (Zuñi) or Shiwinakwi (Zuñi). There you may make me rain priest, but not here." — "All right. If you want all of us to join Itiwannakwi with the others, we will do it," they all said. "All the things I have planted have grown ripe. In a few days all the people will work for us (meaning his family), all the people will have corn and beans and squash for us. And everybody will take some for their own."

So in a few days he told his grandmother to call the bow priests, and his grandmother went to the house of the bow priests. When the bow priest got to his house and went in, the bow priest said, "*Konotetewananate*." — "Sit down." — The bow priest sat down and said, "Let me know why you want me." — "I want you to call out your children to work in the fields tomorrow, some to work on the corn, and some to gather the beans, and some to gather the squash and pile them up. And when they get through, everybody to bring corn to us, twice each, and

<sup>1</sup> *Chauwillikyan* means "children have".

twice, squash, twice, beans. There will be a lot left. The stronger they are, the more they will carry for their own." — "All right, I will call them." So the bow priest went out, and he called out to the people what the boy had told him. So the next day everybody went down to the field, men, women, girls and boys. They gathered the corn and beans and squash. Some carried corn twice, and they hauled beans twice, and squash twice. And the bow priest said, "Everybody go for his own. The stronger one thinks himself, the more he may carry home." So everybody went for his own to bring it home. Some went twice for their own. When they had finished the work they lived on for a while.

In a few days the boy told his grandmother to tell the bow priest to come to his house. When she went to the house of the bow priest, they said, "Have you come? Sit down." So the old woman sat down. They asked what she wanted. "My grandson wants to see his father." — "All right, he will be over," they said. So when the bow priest came, his children told him that they wanted him. So the bow priest went over to his house. When he went in, he said, "My children, *konotetewananate*." — "*Ketsanishi*," they said, "Sit down." He asked, "What is it you want, so I will know?" — "All the people have finished my work. Call out to your children to be ready to go to Itiwannakwi in four days. Everybody must be ready to go on the fourth day." — "All right," he said, "I will call them." So he went. He called out to the people to let them know about it. When the people heard about it, the next day some carried things to Itiwannakwi and left them there. In four days in the morning everybody started to Itiwannakwi and joined the rest of the people and made their houses there. In a few days afterwards they made the boy rain priest. And that is the way it is in Itiwannakwi now. When they want to make anybody rain priest, they have to make him rain priest in Itiwannakwi. *Inote lena teatikia. Lewi.*

## 5. YOUNG WOMEN AND OLD.<sup>1</sup>

*Sonsinote* at Pinawa lived the son of a rain priest. He never went out, and all the girls in that village wanted to marry him and go to his house.<sup>2</sup> The *Tenatsali*<sup>3</sup> lived with their grandmother. They arranged to come to where the two *Aihayuta* lived with their grandmother. They came with

<sup>1</sup> Informant, a member of the Ne'wekwe society.

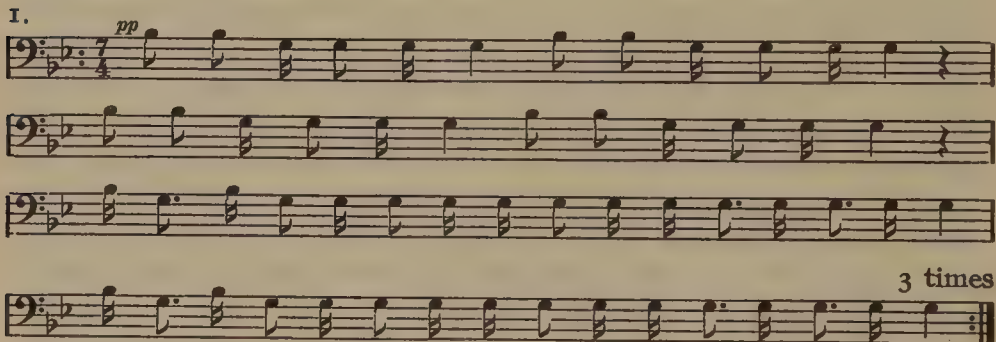
<sup>2</sup> Today, too, Zuñi girls may take the initiative in courtship. I knew of a girl who as a suitor carried meal to a youth's house. He was unresponsive and escaped by running away to boarding-school. On his return the girl was married. Nevertheless when another girl began to keep company with this young fellow, she was criticised by the people of the first girl, her clanswoman.

<sup>3</sup> Little boy and little girl, spirits of a narcotic plant which has not been identified. See Parsons, E. C. *A Zuñi Detective*. Man, XVI, 169. 1916.



their grandmother. They came to Uhannakwi<sup>1</sup> where the Aihayuta lived. When they came, that same night one of the Tenatsali told their grandmothers to take a bath. So their grandmothers took a bath. After doing that they all went to sleep. The little boy Tenatsali brought corn, he rubbed both grandmothers all over with the corn. They all went to sleep. The next day when they woke up their grandmothers were young girls (*ellashtoki*). In the morning their grandsons said to their grandmothers, "Now get up and dress the way you want to dress." So they dressed up in their dark woolen dress, beads they put on their necks and beads around their hands. "Now how are we going to dress our hair?" said one to the other. "I think we shall have to arrange it *ipololone tsutokyana* (hair turned back, as once worn)." After they fixed themselves, they said, "Now let us eat." When they finished eating, "Now, today, we are going to dance in the village. As we dance, the boy who never comes out we will try to make come out. If he wants to see us, he will come out." — "Then you will both stay with him," the boys said to their grandmothers. "Now, which song are we going to dance with?" They considered about it. At last the two Tenatsali chose the song. They sang:

♩ = 96



tua tua tsita  
haia wotakana wotakana  
hena<sup>2</sup>

Thus they sang and practiced. They said to each other, "Now which of us will take our elder sisters (*kyawu*) to the village?" — "I will go," said Aihayut *an suwe* (Younger Brother), "I am not ashamed." — "All right, we three will wait here while you dance. If he likes it and comes out, he will go in between our sisters. Then you ask for a room where nobody lives. There they will stay." They started out from their house to go to the village. When they came close to the village, in the village they were dancing Ikwinakya.<sup>3</sup> While they were dancing, the sun was

<sup>1</sup> Mountain west of Zuñi.

<sup>2</sup> No meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Circle dance in connection with the joint ceremonial in January of the Lewekwe and Big Firebrand societies. Parsons, E. C. Notes on Zuñi, MAAA IV, 153, 172. 1927.

almost set. They entered the village. After the Ikwinakya stopped dancing, they went into the plaza. They began to dance. While they were dancing, the boy peeped out of his window. He saw the two girls dancing. He saw they were nice (*kokshi*) girls. So he put on his clothes, he got his quiver on his back. He went out. He went down to the dance. He went in between the two girls.<sup>1</sup> After sunset, they stopped.

They went to a house where nobody lived. When they went in the house, the house was full of dirt and the boy began to feel sad. "Do not feel sad (*tse'mea*)," they said to him. "Sit down here." So the boy sat down. They did something to him.<sup>2</sup> The boy went to sleep. The two girls took out all the dirt. They marked around the room with corn pollen (*oniawe*) so there would be cross pieces to hang things on. After doing that they hung the things on the poles. They woke him up. He saw the things hanging up. They told him to make a fire. He said, "There is no wood." — "Yes, there is some behind the fireplace." So he made a fire. The grandmother of Tenatsali called their sister. Their sister went inside the other room. She brought out *to'hewe* and some meat and the boy wondered where she got it. There was nothing to eat, this house was deserted long ago. The girls said, "Why don't you talk?" — "I am wondering where you got all this to eat here with nothing to eat. This house was deserted long ago and you have fixed up the room." — "Well, every place wherever there is an empty house there are things for us to eat." Then the boy felt glad. After they ate, they went to sleep. The next day when the boy woke up, the women were still sleeping. He saw two old women (*oketsi*) lying by him. He felt sad again. He went out and went to his house. When he got there, he stayed a little while and his old ones told him to go back. He did not want to go again. After a while the two old women woke up and they laughed at each other. "Where is he?" they said. "This boy did not want anything good that belonged to us. We just wanted to see when we turned into old women if he would go. If he had not gone, we were going to turn into girls forever. Now after this, this boy will never marry any other girl. All the girls will hate him." Thus it was with him after that.

Then the old women turned back into girls. "Now, sister, you go inside the room and bring out corn. We will grind. Some one will come to us," she said. So she went in and brought out corn. Just the other side of their house there lived a boy with his grandmother. He was poor. He was sitting on the ladder and singing,

tua tua tsita  
haia wotakana wotakana  
hena.

<sup>1</sup> The *muaiye*, a dance for snow, is danced by two girls, virgins, and a boy also virginal, at sunset on the day of the *Lewekwe* dance.

<sup>2</sup> The usual paraphrase of an interpreter for having sexual intercourse.





them. "Why are they going there? They ought not to go there." So they said to their bow priest, "Go and tell them not to go in because that house where he lives is full of dirt and ashes." So the bow priest went. "Wait," said he, "do not go in there. Why do you want to go in there? That house is no good, it is full of dirt and ashes," he said to them. "We do not care, we can fix the house. We will work on the house."

They went up and went in: "Have you come?" said their mother. "Yes." — "Sit down." There was nothing to eat. The girls had things to eat. They put them out for themselves to eat. The Aihayuta grandmother said to her mother, "Go to Kyakwemosi (Town Chief) and tell him to tell his people to come and fix up our house. If he does not want to, go to his speaker (*pekwin*), he will do it." So she went to the Town Chief. She went in. They said, "Have you come?" — "Yes," said she. "Maybe you have something to say." — "I come to tell you to tell your people to go to our house to clean out." — "Yes, all right. I will tell my bow priest to call out." — "I am going," said the old woman. She went to her house. Town Chief went out and went to the house of the bow priest and told him what she said. "All right, I will go out and call out to people." Town Chief went out and went to his house. The bow priest went out and called out to the people. The people heard him call. The people went where they lived. The people went in, they gave them to eat. All the people that went in they gave them to eat all they wanted. After they finished eating, they worked. Some threw out the ashes on the ash pile. Some carried the ashes away. When they finished working in the afternoon they gave them supper. Everybody ate. What they had left over from eating they took home. That same night they filled up the rooms with corn and things for the house. They said to the boy, "*Ellakwa* (thanks) our father child. Your heart is good. You will know everything that your father (Aihayuta) knew." And he said, "What kind of things?" — "Wait, some way of praying (*tewusu penarwe*) you will learn," they said to him. When they went to sleep, Aihayuta came. His grandmother got up carefully and went out and saw her grandson. "Have you come?" said she. "Yes. I have come," Aihayuta said. "Are you living here?" — "Yes," said she. "That is the reason I come. I am bringing here what we live by (*honakyakahoi ateona ettone*) for you to teach everything to the boy. He will know our way to call the rain (*klitoishema*)." Aihayuta said, "I bring you the *tenatsali ettone* and you are to teach him the songs and the prayers." They stayed all night and the next day. Tenatsali and his grandmother said to the boy, "My child, this night we will say the prayers and you must listen. You will be *utena* (dress, outfit, etc.) *awan mosi* (their director) (i. e. you will be in charge of all these things)." That night the little girl Tenatsali said, "I will be a poker and sit by the fire," and the little boy Tenatsali said, "I will be the wood carrier."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> So as not to be obtrusive.

Each sat on either side of the fire. Now the two old women began to say the prayers to the young man and to sing the songs. After they were through, they said to the young man, "Now you say them." He sat there with his head down and he could not say one of them. The little boy said, "Let me say them." He began to say the prayers; and he said them all in order. And the little girl said them. The two grandmothers said to them, "Because you know how, you will be the chiefs." The grandmothers said, "Sit down. You will be the *ettone awan amosi* (fetiches their directors). When they get our prayerstick bundles (*lap'owan'e*) ready, you will talk to them (i. e. to the *lap'owan'e*)." The little girl went out to tell people to cut sticks. The people came to that house. The people said, "What kind of prayer-sticks are we to make?" The two grandmothers said, "There will be two. The two sticks will have faces. One will be yellow, the other blue." When they had their prayer-sticks ready, the little boy prayed to them (to the prayer-sticks). When he had finished praying, they took out the food and they all ate. After they had eaten, they all went home.

After they had gone, the two grandmothers took the prayer sticks (*k'yaechin*) and gave it to the two children and said, "Now go where you are to be always. Your grandmother will live with you and you will not get lonesome." Then the two children said, "We go. Be happy here." They went out. They went to Panionima (face sitting)<sup>1</sup> and they waited there for their grandmother. When the two grandmothers got there the Aihayuta grandmother went to Uhannatahnakwi (Cotton Hanging Corner). The two little Tenatsali took their grandmother with them. They went to Tenatsali<sup>2</sup> to live. *Lewi semkonikya*.

#### 6. KNIFE-WING.<sup>3</sup>

*Inote* at Halonawa they lived. *Achiyalatopa* (Knife-wing) lived above the world. Wherever he went around in the villages he stole the girls and took them where he lived. *Ishantekiapoi tsauwak* (Grease-hill boy) lived with his grandmother. The girls here every evening went down to the river to get water and this *Ishana tsanna* (little) said, "Grandmother, I want to go where the girls get water." — "No," said his grandmother, do not go because you look ugly (*aiatsap*). The girls will scold you," said his grandmother to him. "Anyway, I will go," said he. So he went to the river where the girls were getting water. While he stood there the girls came down to get water. No one spoke to him. When all were gone, a certain girl came down last. She came where he stood. She said to him, "Are you standing there?" — "Yes," he said. "Wait here till I get water. Then we shall go up to my house," she said to him. When the girl got

<sup>1</sup> A place where the Shalako impersonators plant prayer-sticks.

<sup>2</sup> Beyond Koluwala'wa.

<sup>3</sup> Informant, Klippelanna.

the water, she came to him and said, "Let us go up to my house." — "All right," said he. She went up with him. He lived there with her family.

He lived there for a few days and then he said, "Let me go to my home to my grandmother to see how she is getting along." — "All right," said the girl. So he went over to his grandmother's. He got there in the morning before his grandmother had eaten and he said, "Have you eaten?" — "No, I am ready to eat," said she. "I have corn mush and my rats are buried in ashes." So she took them out and they ate. After they finished eating he said to his grandmother, "Get one of the big deer skins for me." So his grandmother went into the other room. She brought out a big deer skin. "Here it is," said she. "I will take it and make moccasins for her," he said. So he went over with the skin to where he lived. When he got there he gave it to his wife. She hung it up. He asked the family if they had a hide to make moccasins. They said, "Yes." — "Get it for me," he said. They got a piece of the hide for him. He soaked it in water. At night he took it out and buried it in the sand. Next morning he cut the deer skin in two pieces and he cut a small piece for the toe. He called his wife to step on the hide. She stepped on the hide. He cut out the toe. His wife began to grind. He started to sew on the left side. When he finished the left side, he called his wife to come and try it on. His wife put it on. Then he cut the hide at the heel. Then his wife went back to grind. After a while he finished one side of the moccasins (i. e. the left moccasin). Then he said, "Put it on." So his wife put on the moccasin and he put the deer skin around. After a while when he began to make the other moccasin she wore the left moccasin.

She looked at the water jar and there was no water. She said, "Let me go for water, the water is gone." So she took the jar to go to the river wearing one of her moccasins. While she stood at the river she heard the sound *tene-e! tene-e!* When she looked up, Knife-wing came down. He came down hard, and the dirt flew up from under his feet. The girl said nothing. Knife-wing said, "Let us go. Get on my back." The girl said nothing. "Get on my back," he said again. The third time he said, "Get on my back." The girl said nothing. "This is the last time I am going to say it. If you do not get on my back, I will do something to you." So the girl was frightened and came up to him. She said, "How am I going to get on your back?" — "Get on my back and put your legs around me and hold my shoulders. Then we will go. On our way going up, do not open your eyes any place anywhere. If you do, something will happen to you," he said to her. So he went up with her. And Ishana tsanna had finished the toe of her other moccasin. He waited for her to come. But she did not come. He said to her sister, "I wonder why she does not come up. Go and see where she is." So the little girl went down to the river and saw her track going to the river. There was her jar at the river. She saw the track where her sister had stood. "Here she was



standing," she said. She looked around and did not see her track anywhere else and she saw the track of Knife-wing where he had stopped. She looked around, the tracks were nowhere. When she went back to her house, he asked her, "Where is she?" — "Someone came from some place and took her off some place. I did not see any tracks going anywhere." At once he dropped the moccasin he was making. He went out and he went to his grandmother. His grandmother asked him, "Why have you come?" — "Knife-wing has stolen my wife and taken her up. Do you know anything for me to do?" Grandmother said she did. She went in and got white corn and made meal with the turquoise and different shells. She made *sholiwe*<sup>1</sup> for him. She put the cooking pot for the corn at the fire and put into it the *sholiwe*. She turned the sticks four times, she took them out. "Here, take this," she said to her grandson. So the boy took the *sholiwe*. "Now I am going," he said to her. "All right, you may find her some place."

He went out of his house. He walked a little way to the south. He took out his meal and made a ball of it. He threw it up. There he saw a road going up into the sky. He climbed up. When he got up to the sky he went through. There he saw a stone seat where Knife-wing sat when he went up or down. He saw the tracks up of his wife and the tracks of Knife-wing. From there he had taken off his shirt and he saw the tracks side by side. As he followed them, he began to cry:

*klokwatikyanan*

(noise of crying)

*yanamatikyanan*

(heart crying)

*ahui hui*

*hopoma oye akya chuachi*

where is wife where is she whose

*tsauwaki hanakwatikya ha oy oy oy*

young man fortunate

*ha oy oy oy*

A little way on, *gos* (a salty weed) *atsanna* (little ones) heard him crying. They ran to their house. When they went in, they said, "Some one is crying. He is coming near." Their old ones said, "Not merely someone, he is your grandfather, *Ishana tsauwaki*. Knife-wing has stolen his wife and passed by here with her and I think he is following them. Call him in." — "All right," said the little boys. They ran out when he came near, they said to him, "Come over here!" The boy looked around. "Where are you?" said he. "Here we are standing." — "Where?" — "Here." They shook themselves. When he got near, they said, "Let us

<sup>1</sup> A stick game. See Stevenson, M. C. The Zuñi Indians, pp. 328ff. XXIII Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. 1901—2.

go in our house. Our old ones want you to come." — "All right," he said. When he followed in the children, the old ones said, "Where are you going and why are you crying?" — "Knife-wing has stolen my wife and I am following them; that is why I am crying," he said. "Wait," said they to him. "Now let us wash ourselves for him."<sup>1</sup> they said to him. So the little salt boys washed their bodies and cleansed themselves and made *chikawe mule* (rubblings from their skin) and rolled a ball of it and gave it to him. When they gave it to him, they said, "Now, you take this. When you get to his river where there are a lot of snakes, rub yourself with the ball and then it will be all right, no one will get near you." — "All right," said he. "Now you go!"

So he went out and he went a little way and he cried again:

ahui ahui  
 hopoma oye akya chuachi  
 tsauwaki hanakwatikya ha oy oy oy  
 ha oy oy oy

And the little hedge hogs (*chipi atsanna*) heard him crying. They ran into their house. When they went in they said, "Someone is crying. He is coming near." Their old ones said, "Not merely someone, he is your grandfather, Ishana tsauwaki. Knife-wing has stolen his wife and passed by here with her and I think he is following him. Call him in." — "All right," said they. They ran out when he came near, they said to him, "Come over here!" The boy looked around. "Where are you?" said he. "Here we are standing." — "Where?" — "Here." They shook themselves. When he got near, they said, "Let us go in our house, our old ones want you to come." — "Where is your house?" — "Over there where there are rocks." So he went with them. When they got near with him, he saw the bark of the trees all chewed up. "Here we live. Let us go in." They took him in. "My fathers, my mother, *konotewananate*." — "Where are you going and why are you crying?" — "I am following my wife. Knife-wing has stolen my wife." — "Wait," said they. All the old hedgehogs and the young ones went out to get piñon gum. They scattered to get it. After a while they brought in piñon gum. So they worked with the gum on a shirt just like Knife-wing's. After a while they finished the gum shirt. They said, "Now take this shirt. When you get to his house, you see when he is not there, you walk in. As soon as you go in you look at the wall and his *klekia* (ice) *uchin* (shirt) is hanging on the wall. Take it and put this gum shirt in its place. Change with him. Wrap up his shirt in your blanket. He will come," they said to him. "All right," said he. "Now you go. Do what we tell you." So he went out and went a little way. He began to cry again:

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Parsons, E. C. Pueblo Indian Folk Tales, Probably of Spanish Provenience, JAFI, 31 : 238. 1918.

ahui hui  
 hopoma oye akya chuachi  
 tsauwaki hanakwatikya ha oy oy oy  
 ha oy oy oy

And the little gophers (*yeia*) were playing outside and heard him crying. They ran into their house. When they went in, they said, "Someone is crying. He is coming near." Their old ones said, "Not merely some one, he is your grandfather, Ishana tsauwaki. Knife-wing has stolen his wife and passed by here with her, and I think he is following them. Call him in." — "All right," said they. They ran out. When he came near, they said to him, "Come over here!" The boy looked around. "Where are you?" said he. "Here we are standing." — "Where?" — "Here." They shook themselves. When he got near, they said, "Let us go in our house, our old ones want you to come." — "Where is your house?" — "Right there is where we live." They took him in. The old ones said, "Where are you going and why are you crying?" — "I am following my wife. Knife-wing has stolen my wife." — "You will get there now. First you will come to a river full of snakes. The next river you will reach will be full of knives. When you get near his house you will find a ladder, every rung is a knife. There are two mountain lions lying near. When you get to the top, there will be two bears lying there. When you look down the ladder, there will be knives as rungs. With that salty ball rub your feet. When the two lions begin to growl and frighten you, put little pieces of the salty ball in their mouths and it will hurt their teeth and stop them. When you get to the top and the bears begin to growl, do the same, and they will stop. And you will walk in. We will go. He will do tricks with you (*tommatsumana*), that is why we are to go. In his house there are aspen, silver spruce, pine, spruce.<sup>1</sup> There are forests inside. We will go and cut the roots." — "All right," said he. "Be sure and do what we tell you." So he went out.

When he got to the river full of snakes, he rubbed his body with the salty ball. He went into the river, no snake came near him. When he first went in, a snake tried to catch him, but its teeth were broken by the salt. He went across and walked along till he got to the river of knives. He rubbed himself with the salty ball and he walked in. When he stepped on a knife, the sharp edge of it broke. Then he walked across. When he came near the house, he saw the lions lying there growling. Before they caught him, he put the salt in their mouths and dulled their teeth and hurt them and they quit. He rubbed his feet with the salty ball and he walked up. When he reached the top, he saw the bears. They began to growl. Before they caught him, he put the salt in their mouth. They stopped. He stepped on the ladder and dulled its knives. Then he went in. He changed

<sup>1</sup> Klippelanna mentioned the same trees in the same order in his origin myth, Parsons, E. C. The Origin Myth of Zuñi. JAFSL 36: 137. 1923.



the shirts, putting the gum shirt in the place of the ice shirt and he rolled the ice shirt in his blanket.

There was an old woman sitting by the fire and roasting corn meal. She looked at him and said, "Have you come and how did you get in? There are his ladders of knives, and wild animals are outside." — "I came in all right," said he. "Where is my wife?" he asked. "There are four rooms each room is full of girls. In the fourth room is your wife." While he was talking to the old woman he, Knife-wing, came. When he came to the lions, he saw the tracks going up his ladder. He got angry. "Now you are brave animals that you let him come. How did it happen that you let him go up?" And the animals were lying down with their hurt teeth. When he went up, he saw the two bears lying with their heads down and he got angry again. "Why did you animals let someone come up? You are the meanest animals to keep people away. How did it happen that you let someone come up?" And the bears were lying down. He walked in. He said, "Now, how did you come in? You must be someone *aiuchiana* (magical). There is no one who comes into my house like this." — "No, I am not magical. You are the magical one. You have the meanest animals and you steal all the girls," he said to him. They kept on talking that way to each other, they spoke four times. "Now you wait," he said. "We will do some tricks to each other (*iatsuma*) to see if you are a brave man." — "All right," said he.

So Knife-wing sat down on the west side and Ishana tsanna sat down on the east side where he came in. "Now let us play to see which will be the better," he said. "All right," said Knife-wing. So he took out his *sholiwe*. He piled them together. He threw them up. When the *sholiwe* fell on the floor there were four dead persons rolling around where the boys sat, and he said, "Now you gather them up." — "I am not afraid," said Ishana tsanna. Knife-wing said, "You are not afraid?" — "No." So he gathered them up. They were *sholiwe* again. "Now it is your turn," said Knife-wing. Then the boy took his out. He piled them up. He threw them up. When one fell on the floor, there a Sayafia<sup>1</sup> jumped up. Every one of the four was a Sayafia. Every one lifted up his yucca blades and tried to hit Knife-wing, and he cried out, "*Aikochi*!"<sup>2</sup> I am afraid! Do not hit me. You gather them up, I am afraid." So the boy gathered them up, and he was holding the *sholiwe* again.

"Wait, there is another," he said. "Now come in." Then he took him into the room where the trees were. And the little gophers had worked cutting the roots of the trees. When he took him in, he said to him, "These are my forests. Every one of these trees you will pull out with one hand if you are as strong as I." And the boy said, "I will try. No one can pull out a tree with one hand because the tree has roots, but I will try," he said. So he went to the tree. With one hand he held the aspen and threw it

<sup>1</sup> Whipping kachina.

<sup>2</sup> Exclamation of fear. What you call out before you are hit.

down. Then he went to the silver spruce. With one arm he threw it down. Then he went to the pine. With one arm he threw it down. Then he went to the spruce. With one arm he threw it down. When he threw them all down, Knife-wing said, "You must be some one magical. Now this is the last time we are going to do tricks. Then you will not be brave." He went inside the room and he called out all the girls. "Now, everybody come out." So all the girls came out and he said to them, "Now gather up all this wood and make two piles. This is the last time to do tricks." While the girls piled up the wood in two piles he went in and got his shirt, thinking it was his own ice shirt. He brought it out. He put on that gum shirt and the boy put on the ice shirt. "Now you climb up there," he said to the boy. So the boy climbed up on one pile. Knife-wing climbed up on the other. "Now one of us has to lose his life or both of us. If I die, all these women are yours. If you die, it is all right. Now set fire to them for us," he said to the women. Then the women set fire to them. When the wood was burning and the fire mounted up to them, Knife-wing said, "How much are you burning?" — "I am burning up to the knees." — "I am the same," he said. After a while he asked again, "How much are you burning?" — "I am burning up to the hip." — "I am the same," he said. The shirt of Knife-wing was all burning and boiling and his legs were really burning, but the boy's shirt of ice was only melting. The third time Knife-wing asked the boy, "How much are you burning?" he said in a low voice, "Are you still alive?" — "Yes," he said. The fourth time he waited for him to speak, but he did not speak again. The boy asked, "Are you still alive?" He waited for him to speak, but he was already dead. Then he jumped out of the fire. He said, "This way you were going to do to me."

Then he took the burned body of Knife-wing out of the fire. Then he cut open his chest and took out his heart. "Now you are to be Mukwanotsinna (Bear)." He cut off his head and threw it to the east. "Now you are to be a star behind the sun." Then one of his legs he threw to the west. "Now you are to come out before the dawn." Then he took his arms and threw them up. "Now you are to be the Seven stars (Kwillilikyakwe, Pleiades)." Then he took out the lungs and threw them up. "You are to be all the small stars." Then one of his thighs he threw up. "Now you are to be Ipilakyakwe (they are the three stars in line, i. e. Orion's belt). So he threw them up in every direction to be the stars.

When he did that, he went into the first room. "Now all of you go out," he said to the girls. The second room he went in and called them out. The third room he sent them out. In the fourth room were his wife and some other girls he (Knife-wing) had gathered. "My mother," he said to his wife, "*konatontewannanatea*, I came after you. Everybody go out." He sent all the girls out. The girls he had first gathered were in the first room and so on, the last girls being in the fourth room. (The girls in the first room were roasting corn meal.) So all went out. So the boy

started out with the girls. "Let us all go," he said to them. They all followed him. They came to the spider household (*totsito kyawinikwe*). The little boys saw them and ran in and said, "Ishanatsanna is coming with all the girls Knife-wing gathered." — "There is no way for them to go down. You go out and make them stop here and we will all go with them." So the little spiders went out and waited for them. When they came, they said to them, "Stop here!" So they stopped and they called to Ishana tsanna to go into their house. So he went into their house. "Are you coming?" — "Yes, we are coming. I am coming with all my sisters (*awakynauwe*)." — "Well, that is why we called you in. There is no way down for you. We all will go along with you." — "All right," he said. So all the spiders worked to weave balls. When they made so many balls, they said, "Let us all go." So they started. When they came to the open place, they all stopped. "Let us all work at the house," the spider said. So the spiders made houses of their web. They used all their web making four stories out of it and it was all gone, and they worked at weaving again, and they made four balls and they called all the girls to go inside the houses, and when they had packed all the girls in the houses they said, "Now we will go down." The spiders hid their web on the bushes and they all started down. When they came down one ball was all gone. They tied the other. As they came down they used up the second ball. They tied up the third ball. That ball gone, they used the fourth ball. They came down to Klawotapane. When they all came out, he said to them, "Now go to whatever people you belong to, Ganalannakwe (Laguna), Amuk (Hopi), Hakuk (Acoma), Wilatsukwe (Apache), Chishekwe (?), *tamayakwe* (sundown) Sipaloea (Mexicans). Now you may go wherever you live." So they all scattered. The spiders said to the two, "Now you go home. We will go back to our home." — "All right," they said. They came by Shoyakuskwe *onawoa* (road). When they came near the village, some one saw them, "Ishana tsanna is coming with his wife. He must have found her." He told the people and then people looked out. They went to their house and went in. "Have you come?" — "Yes, we have come."

They lived together for a few days. In a few days the boy said, "Now, my old ones, I will go away because I am different from you people. I will go back to my grandmother. After this find some other boy that will take good care of you, some one that will work for you," he said to his wife. "No," she said, "I want to go along." — "You can not go yet, at the end of your life you will get to where I am." He kept on saying this to his wife. Then she said, "All right, I will do what you say." So he told his old ones to be happy. They told him the same. "I am going." So he went out and went to his grandmother. He said, "Grandmother, *konatontewannanatea*." — "Ketsanish. Kesh to ia? Have you come back with your wife?" — "Yes. Now, grandmother, we are not supposed to live here forever. What is it that you care for? Anything you care for



very much, get it." — "I have a little pot where there is *kyahewe* to boil. That is all I care for." — "All right, get it." So his grandmother went in and brought it out, and he said, "Now sit down here. Hold your pot in your lap and sit down facing the east." When she sat down her grandson came near her. "Now we join them at Koluwelakwi." So he stepped on his grandmother's head. Then his grandmother went through, and they both went down and joined the Koluwelakwi.

#### 7. UNDERGROUND TO THE MONSTER: THE STUFFED GODS.<sup>1</sup>

*Masinote* at Towyelle the two Aihayuta lived with their grandmother. One morning while they were eating their early morning meal of rats, their grandmother said to them, "Now, you two children, do not go way down on the north side. At Tewuñannakwi there lives a ground cow (*awitele wakashi*). He is mean, he kills our children." — "No, we won't go," they said to her. "If he kills the people, we won't go." — "You might go. That is the reason I told you," their grandmother said to them. When they finished their early morning meal, they went out of their house and went hunting. They found a road down on the mountain. They went down. When they got down, they went on the north side. They got to the hill. They went on top of the hill. On that hill Younger Brother said, "Let us go where that ground cow eats up the people." — "No," said Elder Brother. "Do not let us go! Our grandmother told us not to go because he might kill us." — "Let us go!" he said. He was never afraid. His brother did not want to go. Younger Brother kept on saying he wanted to go. "All right," said Elder Brother. "Let us go and see what he will do to us." So they went down.

While they were going on their way to the east side a gopher was making a hole. They saw him go in a hole and come out, pushing the dirt out. When they got there, "Are you coming?" the gopher said. "Yes." Gopher said to them, "Where are you going?" — "We are going to kill the ground cow. Our grandmother told us not to go, but we are going to kill him." — "All right," said the gopher. "Go in here." — "Let us go in to the house of our grandfather." So they went in. "Now, you wait here," their grandfather said to them. "I am going to make a hole where he is." So Gopher made a hole and the two Aihayuta were waiting there. Gopher kept on making the hole. When he went half way, he looked out. He went in again and kept on. He went a little way and he looked out again, and the ground cow was lying down on the ground. When he saw him, he went in again. He worked at the hole again, till he got to where he was. When he got there, he listened. He heard his heart beating. There he made a little hole and saw him. He cut the hair off to his heart and he went back to the two. When he got there, he said to them, "Now, I have

<sup>1</sup> Informant, Waisilutiwa.

finished the hole and I cut the hair off straight to his heart. He is sleeping. Which one of you wants to go?" — "I will go," said Elder Brother. "No, I will go," said Younger Brother. "No, if anything happens, I should undertake it because I am the older brother." — "No," said Younger Brother, "you would not shoot him straight to the heart. I want to go." Elder Brother said, "All right." So he went. When he got there, he put his arrow to the bow. When he was there, he pulled his bow straight where his grandfather had cut off the hair. He let loose the arrow. When he did that he ran back. The cow jumped up and looked around. He did not see anybody. He looked down where he was lying. He saw the hole. There he put two horns into the hole and followed Younger Brother. The horn almost caught Younger Brother. When he got to where the other two were, the horn just touched him and the cow fell down dead. Gopher said, "Good for you, grandsons. This cow killed all our people who came after wood. There are a lot of their straps lying around, because it killed the people and devoured them."

When they went out there, it lay dead. Younger Brother went where it was lying and knocked its eyes to see if it was dead. When he touched its eyes he saw it was already dead. He took off the hide, and cut off the head, and Aihayuta said, "Throw its head to the east side," and he said, "Now you go the east, you will be the big star that tells lies, *mok'* (star) *kwanosina* (lying) *lanna* (big)." — "Good for you, grandson. I have all the meat I need." They took no meat. They went away hunting, they killed rats.<sup>1</sup> When they got to their house, their grandmother said to them, "Have you come?" — "Yes," said they. "Grandmother, we had a hard time. We went where you did not want us to go. We killed the mean one that killed our children." Their grandmother said, "Have you done it?" — "Yes," said they.

Their grandmother boiled the rats for them to eat. While they were eating, their grandmother said to them, "Now, grandsons, do not go way across the other mountain to Noponi tana (face point).<sup>2</sup> There live some people who kill people." — "No, we will not go," said they. "We almost got killed. If they are bad people who would kill us, we will not go." The next day they said, "Let us go out hunting again!" Their grandmother said to them again, "Do not go where I told you not to go." They went out hunting. They went to Kakyma. They went to the southwest. When they got near where their grandmother did not want them to go, they climbed up Noponi tanaona. When they got on top, they walked a road a little way to the south. In an open place, they saw a white house. Elder Brother said, "I think that is the place our grandmother does not want us to go. Brother, I think we better not go because they might kill us." — "Do not mind your grandmother, what she said. Let us go!" Younger Brother said. "No, let us not go in." He kept telling

<sup>1</sup> Their usual diet.

<sup>2</sup> South of Zuñi.

his brother to go. At last Elder Brother said, "All right, let us go!" So they went. When they got to the house, they climbed the ladder. They got on the top. It sounded *tun! tun!*<sup>1</sup> The people inside said, "Someone is coming." They went in. "Have you come?" — "Yes." — "Sit down!" They sat. "Don't you want to know the place?" Elder Brother said, "I know every place on the earth." Younger Brother said, "I know every place in the sky." The people inside said, "Not that." They went into the other room. There were four persons. They were Sayafia. They came out. They made Elder Brother bend down. One of them hit him with yucca four times. Elder Brother died. When he died, they threw him out. Next they made Younger Brother bend down. The next one hit him four times. Younger Brother died. They threw him out. Sayafia said, "Let us eat!" They put out a bundle of beans, put it in the bowl and put in corn mush (*hekusna*).

While the two Aihayuta lay outside, they said to each other, "Now what are you going to be?" Elder Brother said, "I am going to be turned into beans. *Ia* (all right), and I will be their corn mush." While the Sayafia were eating, both went into their throat and choked them, and they all died. They went out of their throat. "This is what you ought [?wanted] to do to us," the two said. They took off their skin. They went out and got cedar bark. They took it inside. They put the cedar bark inside the skin. They went out to get yucca. They tied them, "I will have two," said Elder Brother, "and you will have two." They made them stand up and tied them to their backs and they ran and Sayafia followed them. "It is all right. Let's go." They went with them and the Sayafia kept following them. They said, "We will scare our grandmother." So they went around. When they got near their house, some people that were hoeing in their corn field heard them calling out. Aihayuta called out, "*O! o! hona chuwan tapaniwia yai!* Some one is following us, *yai!*" Those hoeing in their fields saw them coming. They all ran away. Their grandmother heard them. "What bad children you are! You went where I did not want you to go." One side of her face she painted black, the other side she painted white with ashes. In one hand she took the fire poker<sup>2</sup> and in the left hand a bundle of sticks. She went out. She heard them cry out, "*O! o! hona chuwan tapaniwia yai!* Some one is following us, *yai!*" She went down to meet them. They were coming near. She ran on, when she met them she was angry. "You mean ones," she said. When she said that, she hit them with the big stick she carried. "This is what you wanted to do to us," she said to them. "That is enough, grandmother. They are long since dead." — "What bad boys you are to fool me!" And both Aihayuta kept on laughing at their grandmother. "Let us go to our house," they said. They went away to their house.

<sup>1</sup> Sound of stepping.

<sup>2</sup> Among Keres and Tewa the fire stick has a fetichistic protective character.



When they got inside, their grandmother put out a bowl of rats and corn mush for them to eat. "Grandmother, eat a lot! Let us try it!" They went into their room and put on turtle shell rattles. When they came out, they said to their grandmother, "Bend down, we will make you know about it (*tenapikyana*).<sup>1</sup> She said, "I know every place in the earth." — "Well, bend down!" They put the hide of an animal on her back and Elder Brother hit her four times and Younger Brother hit her four times. Their grandmother burst her stomach. They said, "Throw her outside." When they threw her down, she turned to life again (*ikwał ho'i yo'ka*).<sup>2</sup> She went in. "Now, grandsons, you have killed all the creatures that killed our children." These Sayalia belong to Koluwela. So in Itiwanna, when they initiate children, they will call them. They sent them to Koluwela. "From now on we better not stay here together. You, Elder Brother, go to Uhannakwi.<sup>3</sup> You, Younger Brother, you stay here. And I will go to Shopluwayallakwi.<sup>4</sup> *Lena inote teatikia. Le semkonikya.*

#### 8. THE HOPI CHILDREN BECOME BIRDS.<sup>5</sup>

*Mas inote* at the Hopi village the two Aihayuta lived with their grandmother. The Aihayuta were going around. When they reached the Hopi village they were dancing Lapaleakia.<sup>6</sup> The Hopi women were taking the bread from the oven and they did not speak to the Aihayuta because

<sup>1</sup> Term for the completed initiation. It is connected with the whipping by the Sayalia and it refers probably to the rite of unmasking and putting the masks on the initiates. At this time the Kopekwin tells the boys that long ago at Towa Yallane a big boy, an initiate, told the little boys how the Sayalia unmask, that the people summoned a Koko (Kachina) with a long knife, that this Koko cut off the head of the big boy, and that the attendant Koyemshi kicked the head to Koluwela. The term "to know how" is used I think, in connection with any of the more esoteric knowledge about the Koko. For example, I once heard a woman remark to a group of men that, had the Kopilashiwanni instead of the Kopekwin brought in the Sayalia for a certain exorcising rite, the Sayalia would have whipped harder. "You know how," commented the men.

<sup>2</sup> Term not used in initiation of boys, but it might be used of a sick person recovering. And yet I have been told that being initiated was "like being born again". A person born on the full moon has a good prospect of health and longevity, born on the new moon or waning moon, his prospects are poor: *Therefore* the winter initiations, January and February, are set at full moon.

Moreover, a term used in referring to the initiation or whipping of the children, *laknekyana*, means whipped or punished or killed.

<sup>3</sup> Seven miles west of Zuñi.

<sup>4</sup> Near the day school.

<sup>5</sup> Informant, Waisilutiwa.

<sup>6</sup> This is danced in Zuñi, too, "little different."

they looked ugly. As they went around, nobody gave them anything. They went down south of the town, where one old woman lived alone. When they got inside, the old woman gave them cooked meat of rabbit and jack rabbit mixed together. They ate all they wanted. While they were eating the Hopi were dancing. "Now, grandmother, you wait here. We are going to the west side of the town where there is a cottonwood tree. While we are gone, gather together everything you care for. We will come back to take you with us." While they said that to their grandmother, they ground up azurite malachite<sup>1</sup> (with water). They called all the children of the Hopi together. They took them to the cottonwood tree. They gathered them all there because when they went first to the Hopi the people gave them nothing. They painted all the boys and girls with the azurite-malachite. "Now, children, we are going to dance here, while your old ones are dancing in the village. Everybody take hold of a branch of this cottonwood tree. Hold the branch tight. Everybody call out *a a a*. We will dance like that." When he said that and everybody called out *a a a* and held up the branch of the cottonwood tree, they turned into chapparal jays (*aakya*).<sup>2</sup> The two ran away to their grandmother. Their grandmother carried her cook pot on her back. They went to Kwilli yalla, Two Mountains.<sup>3</sup> Everybody in Mukwina (Tusayan) turned into stone. That place is now named Awatowa.

When they came with their grandmother to Ahokyanakwi,<sup>4</sup> she got tired. They said to their grandmother, "Now you go in here forever to live. So our children will call the place Where the Old Woman went in (*techikyana oketsi kwatokia*)." That is now the name of the place. They sent the old woman in, and they ran to Two Mountains. Here the two lived with their own grandmother. When they came there, they said to her, "We have done something bad, because when we got to the Hopi village nobody treated us well, they gave us nothing to eat. We have turned the children to jays and their old ones to stone." Their grandmother said, "You ought not to have done that. You are bad boys. After this do not go anywhere." — "We did that because they were mean people. We turned all the children to jays so all our children will give us prayer-sticks with jay feathers. There were none." Their grandmother said, "Do not go anywhere any more." Elder Brother said, "I think we ought not to live here together. I will stay here forever. Our grandmother, you go down near to Shiwannakwi (Zuñi) to Shopluwayallakwi, and, my younger brother, you go to Tauhtitanakwi.<sup>5</sup> You stay there forever so

<sup>1</sup> Light blue pigment used on prayer-sticks.

<sup>2</sup> Called by the Navaho *quash'ái* from its cry *ái ái* (Franciscan Fathers. An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, p. 162. St. Michaels, Arizona. 1916.)

<sup>3</sup> North of Zuñi.

<sup>4</sup> Ahokyana is a red stone used as a face pigment.

<sup>5</sup> A mesa half a mile west of the Vanderwagen ranch.

in case of trouble to our children, in case any tribe come to fight our children, we will watch over them." That is why the two stay in high places where they can watch for anyone coming. *Lena teatik*.

#### 9. WHY ANIMALS DO NOT EAT SALT.<sup>1</sup>

*Son achi son inote* at Tanashinawa (Badger place)<sup>2</sup> Badger Old Man lived. At Homaakwen<sup>3</sup> Coyote lived. Badger Old Man went out to hunt at Pokyanawa<sup>4</sup> (Jack-rabbit Place) and saw Coyote hunting. They met each other at Pokyanawa. "*Ate, kihe* (friend)!" Badger Old Man said to Coyote. "*Heh, kihe*, what are you doing?" Coyote said to Badger Old Man. "I am hunting around," said Badger Old Man. "How would it be if we went around together?" — "All right," said Badger Old Man. "Whenever a rabbit jumps out, I will run after it. I am a good runner," said Coyote. "And whenever a rabbit goes into a hole, you ought to dig down to get him out, you have long claws." — "Now which way shall we go?" said Badger Old Man. "We will go towards the south side where there are bushes." So they went towards the south. They went a little way. A rabbit got up and ran. When they saw it, Coyote ran after it. He ran after it a little way and the rabbit went into a prairie dog hole. And his friend, Badger Old Man, kept following him and when he got to where Coyote was, he asked him, "Where is it?" — "Now dig down into this hole. This is where he went in. When you get him out, we will go on again." So he dug down. He went far in. When he got down to the rabbit, he got him out. They killed him. When they killed him, Coyote said to his friend, "Now you carry him on your back." Badger Old Man carried the rabbit on his back. Badger Old Man said, "Now in which direction are we to go?" He said, "To Komchapemisskwi (Where-they-burn-Wood)." They went there, and they found another rabbit. The rabbit ran and Coyote saw him and chased him a little way. When he got near to the rabbit, he almost caught him. And the rabbit went into a hole and Coyote tried to catch him and he rolled over the prairie dog hole. Badger Old Man followed them, and came to where Coyote was and asked him, "Where is it?" And Coyote said, "He went in his hole. Now you dig down and get him out again. You will get him out. I know you are strong," said Coyote to Badger Old Man. So Badger Old Man went down and he got the rabbit out of the hole. And they killed him. "Now you carry both of them, and we will start on again." So Badger Old Man carried the rabbit on his back. He said, "Now which way are we to go?" — "To this side, the south side, to Healotepokyalakwi."

<sup>1</sup> Informant, Waisilutiwa.

<sup>2</sup> Hills at the foot of Towa Yallane to the west.

<sup>3</sup> At the foot of Itiwatanna, Middle Point, a point in the mesa south of Zuñi.

<sup>4</sup> Southeast of Zuñi.



When they got there, Coyote said to his friend, "Now you stay on this hill. You stay here, I will go to the south." — "All right. I will wait for you here until you return," said Badger Old Man to his friend. So he went down to the south. A little way down in the bushes a jack-rabbit got up and ran off, and Coyote followed him. They went way around to Kyakimakwa and the jack-rabbit turned back to the place where he got up. When he reached there, Coyote caught him. When he killed the rabbit, he carried him to where his friend was. "*Keshi*," Badger Old Man said to Coyote. "Did you kill him?" — "Yes," said Coyote. — "Lay him down." Badger Old Man asked him, "Now which side shall we go?" — "Back to the place we met each other, to Pokyanawa, because it is almost sundown." So they walked back to Pokyanakwi. When they were almost there, a rabbit got up. Coyote chased him. The rabbit went into a hole, and Coyote chased him. Badger Old Man followed them and reached the place. He said to him, "Did he go in?" — "Yes," said Coyote. "Now dig down and get him out." So Badger Old Man went in. He got the rabbit out again. They killed him. "Now we have four," they said. "This will be enough," they said. "Yes, because it is almost sunset," said Badger Old Man. "We have four. We will each get two." — "All right," said Coyote. "Now you pick out the two you want because you got most of them out." So Badger Old Man took his two rabbits and he gave Coyote two. "Now you take these two home. It is almost sundown. In four days we will go to get salt." — "All right," said Coyote. He carried his two rabbits on his back and went to Homakwen, and Badger Old Man went to Tonashinakwi.

They kept counting their days (*antsumenateakya*). In three days Badger Old Man said, "Tomorrow is our time to go get salt." Coyote said the same at his place, "Tomorrow we go to get salt." Next day Badger Old Man made ready his food, and carried it on his back and went to his friend. Coyote was waiting there for him. At sunrise he got there. Coyote was waiting for him. When Badger Old Man went in, Coyote said, "*Ate, kihe? Kesh to ia?* (Friend, have you come?)" — "Yes," said Badger Old Man. "I am not ready yet. Let me make ready my food," said Coyote. Coyote made ready his food and said, "Which side are we to go?" — "We will go and climb at Toloknana."<sup>1</sup> So they went to Toloknana. When they reached the top of the mountain they went out. The Coyote walked fast. Badger Old Man was slow. In the evening they got to Kamakya. "We will stay here tonight," they said. So they stopped there. Next day they started again. In the afternoon they reached Mayakwi<sup>2</sup> (Salt place). They took out the salt and put it into a sack made of the skin of wildcat. When they filled up their sack, they said, "We are to start now and go to where we were last night at Kamak."

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<sup>1</sup> South of Zuñi.

<sup>2</sup> The salt lake.

— "All right." So they started back from Salt Place. In the evening they reached Kamak. They stayed the night there.

At Itiwatanna the two Aihayuta went out and said one to the other, "Two of the bad ones went to get salt. They are on their way back. Tonight they are at Kamakya." — "We better go because we do not want them to eat anything with salt," said Younger Brother. So they went to the place where the two were. When they arrived, they saw their fire. The two were sleeping. "Now what are we to do?" said the Aihayuta to each other and one said, "We will turn the salt into stone because it is not right for them to eat anything with salt." — "All right," said the other. So Younger Brother got a stone and threw it at them as they were sleeping. They got near to them and got hold of their sack of salt. The salt turned into stones. They went back to Itiwatanna.

Then next morning when they got up they ate and they said, "Now let us start on again." Badger Old Man carried his sack on his back and it was not heavy. He said, "I wonder why my sack is not heavy." Coyote carried his on his back and he said, "And mine is not heavy." So Badger Old Man put his down. "Let me look at them and see why they are not heavy. Yesterday they were heavy." He looked at them and saw that the salt had become white stone. "It does not look like salt," he said. Coyote looked at his, too. It was the same. "What shall we do?" said Badger Old Man. "Well, we have to throw this away and go back and get some more. After we get to Salt Place and fill up our sack and start back, we will not stop here. We will go a little way on the other side where there are pine trees. Thereabouts we will spend the night. Maybe from there our salt will not turn again into stone." — "All right," said Coyote. So they went back to Salt Place. In the afternoon (*yaselakyapa*) they filled up their sack with salt again, and started back. They passed by the place they were the night before. They went to the place of the pine trees. They got there at sunset. They stayed there that night.

The two Aihayuta said, "Now they have come again with the salt. They are over at the pine trees. We will go again and turn their salt into deer dung and rabbit dung." So they went again and when they neared the fire they stopped and Younger Brother got a stone and threw it. They were sleeping. The two Aihayuta got near to the fire and each took hold of the sack and turned it into deer dung and rabbit dung. When they had done that, they said, "Now let us go home. Let them do what they want again." They went back home. Next day when they got up, they ate and before they started Badger Old Man lifted up the sack and it was very light. "Now it is lighter than it was yesterday." And Coyote took his and it was light. Badger Old Man said, "Look at yours and see what it is." So Coyote untied his sack and looked at it. It was mixed with deer dung and rabbit dung. "Look at yours. I wonder why it is like this? Now what shall we do?" said Coyote. "We have to throw it away and go back and get some more. When we come back with it we

will not go through here, we will go to Itiwatanna where the road comes up. There we will spend the night," said Badger Old Man. "All right," said Coyote. So they threw away what they had in the sacks and went back again. When they reached Salt Place, they filled up their sacks with salt again and they started back. They passed through Kamakya and they kept on and came to where they were at the pine trees. They passed by there. they came to Itiwatanna after sundown. There they stopped.

The two Aihayuta said, "They have come with the salt. They are now where the road comes up. They are there now. We will go and turn the salt into gypsum," said Younger Brother. "You want to go again?" asked Elder Brother. "Yes, because we do not want them to eat salt. When we put gypsum in their sack tomorrow, they will carry it down because it is as heavy as salt." — "All right," said Elder Brother. So they went down to the place where they were. When they got close to the fire, Younger Brother got a stone and threw it at them as they were sleeping. "They are asleep, they won't wake up." They got close to them and each got hold of their sack and turned the salt into gypsum. "Now let us go back home. Let them do what they want tomorrow," said Elder Brother. So they went back.

The next morning before they started, Badger Old Man tried his sack. He lifted it up and it was as heavy as before. "Mine is as heavy as it was yesterday," he said. And Coyote lifted his up. "Mine is heavy, too," he said. "Look at your sack," Badger Old Man said to Coyote and Coyote untied his and looked at it. It was like salt. "It has not turned into anything," he said. So they tied the sacks on their backs and went down the road. When they got to the bottom of the mountain, "Now I am going on home," said Coyote. "All right," said Badger Old Man, and Coyote went to his house and Badger Old Man kept on. When he got to his house, he put down his sack. He emptied his sack. When Coyote got home, he emptied his sack, too. They did not taste the salt yet. In the evening Coyote boiled the rabbit and at Tonashiwa Badger Old Man did likewise.

Next morning Coyote tried to grind the salt. He tasted it and found out it was not salt and he said, "I wonder why it has turned into gypsum. Let me go to my friend. I wonder if he has experienced the same." So he did not eat, but went to his friend at Tonashiwa. He ran into the house of his friend. His friend saw him and said, "*Ate, kihe, kesh to ia?*" — "How is your salt?" he asked Badger Old Man. "It is not salt, it has been turned into gypsum." — "I wonder why?" — "Now, friend, we have to go again in four days," Badger Old Man said to Coyote. "All right," said Coyote. "I will be at your house in three days to let you know again." — "All right," said Coyote. So he went out and went home. Each stayed home for three days. In three days Badger Old Man went to Homaakwena to his friend. When he went in, Coyote said, "*Ate, kihe,*



have you come?" — "Yes," he said. "I come to let you know now that tomorrow we are to go get salt again. I will come very early. We will start early. We will try to come back the same day so our salt will not turn into anything." — "All right. I will wait for you. Come very early." So Badger Old Man went back home. In the evening they both went to sleep early. The next morning, very early, Badger Old Man went to his friend at Homaakwena. When he got there, his friend was awake. He had everything ready. "Now we will start and try and go fast. I can run faster than you. You are slow. Let us see how far we can go before the sun comes out." So they started from Homaakwena. They kept on running till reached Kamakya. There the sun came out. They kept on going. At noon they reached Salt Place. They took out the salt, put it in their sack. "Now let us start and see how far we can go before sunset. When the sun goes down we will keep on. Maybe we will be home before daybreak." From thence they started out with the salt till they came to Kamak. A little way this side of Kamak the sun went down. They kept on going until midnight. They reached Itiwatanna, they climbed down. They kept on a little way. Coyote said, "Now I am going on my way and you go yours. This time our salt will not turn into anything." — "All right," said Badger Old Man. Coyote went on home and Badger Old Man went on home.

At Itiwatanna the two Aihayuta came out. Younger Brother said, "They are coming with the salt, one is going to his house with the salt, the other to his house. Let them get home with the salt. But we will go again, because we do not want any animal to eat meat with salt," Younger Brother said. "All right," said Elder Brother. So they waited until the two reached home with the salt. Coyote went home and put his sack down and Badger Old Man reached home and put down his sack. They did not look at their salt because they thought it would not turn into anything. They were very tired. Both went to sleep. "Now let us go," said Aihayuta Younger Brother. "We go first to the house of Badger Old Man. There we will get his sack. Then we will go to the house of Coyote and get his sack. We will take the salt back to our mother." They went to Tonashinawa. They went in while Badger Old Man was asleep. Younger Brother said, "Now, mother, we will take you back because we do not want any animal to live on salt." He untied the sack and took out a little piece. When he took out a little piece all the rest of the salt followed (of itself). They went to the house of Coyote, and Elder Brother said, "Now, mother, we will take you back because we do not want any animal to live on salt." He took out a little piece and took it back to the salt place. All the rest of the salt went back, too. The two Aihayuta went home.

The next morning when Coyote got up, he was anxious to see the salt. He looked, he found his sack empty. He said, "I wonder why? Maybe she does not want us to eat her flesh. Let me go and see my friend." So

Coyote went to see his friend at Tonashinawa. When he went in, Badger Old Man said, "*Ate, kihe*. Have you come?" — "Yes," he said. "I come to see about your salt. My sack is empty. How about yours? That is why I come to see you." — "Mine is all gone, too," he said. "I think we will live without salt after this. There is no use trying it any more." So that is the reason no animal eats salt. *Le'na inote teatikya lewi semkonikya*.

#### 10. THE GIRL WHO HUNTED RABBITS.<sup>1</sup>

At Kateik<sup>2</sup> there lived the daughter of a rain priest. There was a deep snow. She went out to kill rabbits. She put on her slip and overshoes.<sup>3</sup> She killed several rabbits. She pulled them out from the bush. She went on until she came to Atelalianna (rocks blue). She went around killing them. Then she came to Hakwinna (weeds black). She killed some there. It became dark. She made a bundle of the rabbits and started back to Blue Rocks. She came to a big cave. She went in. She threw the rabbits down and made a fire, with the fire drill. She skinned a rabbit. She cooked it. While she was eating it she heard *O-la-a!*<sup>4</sup> She said, "Come here, I am here." He called again — *O-la-a!* She said, "Come here, I am staying here all night." He called again — *O-la-la!* She said, "Come here." She said, "I am staying here all night." She heard his steps. He called again — *O-la-la!* He looked in at the door. She said, "Was it you I heard call?" He said, "Yes. I saw your tracks in the snow and followed them." She said, "What am I going to give you to eat? I have no meat." He said, "What is that lying there by the fire?" She said, "Rabbits." He said, "Give me one of them." She threw him one out of the doorway. He swallowed it. He asked, "Have you any more?" She said, "Yes." She threw him another. He asked, "Have you any more?" She said, "Yes." She threw him another. He asked, "Have you any more?" She said, "Yes." She threw him another. He asked, "Have you any more?" She said, "Yes." She threw him another. He asked, "Have you any more?" She said, "Yes." She threw him another. She said, "They are all gone." Atoshle said, "I am going to eat you. That is what I came for." The girl cried out. He put his hand in. Then he started to put in his head.

<sup>1</sup> Informant, Waisilutiwa.

<sup>2</sup> Ruin towards Black Rock.

<sup>3</sup> These snow shoes are made of sheep pelt, the wool inside. They are tied at the ankle or knee.

<sup>4</sup> This is the call of Atoshle, the bugaboo mask. See Parsons, E. C. The Zuñi A'doshlë and Suukë. *American Anthropologist* (N. S.) 18: 338—347. 1916.

At the sound the three year old boy near us began to whimper. This child, by the way, already knew several ceremonial terms and one day while we were turning the pages of "The Zuñi Indians" he pointed to the picture of the altar of the Bedbug society, his uncle's society, and named it!

The hole was too little. The rocks loved the girl and made themselves closer and closer. He asked her again, "Is that all the meat you have?" — "Yes." — "Well, throw out your overshoes. Maybe some time you ate meat and you wiped your greasy hands on your overshoes, and they are greasy." She threw them. He ate them. He said, "Throw out your moccasins." She threw them. He ate them. He said, "Throw out your leggings." He ate those. He said, "Throw out your belt." He ate that. He said, "Throw out your dress." He ate that. "Is that all you have?" She said, "Yes." She was sitting there crying with nothing on. Atoshle said, "I am going to eat you surely this time. You have such nice white skin. You will make a good meal." She began to cry, "Mother, come for me! Father, come for me!" He said, "I am going to get you this time." He went off a little way, and ran and butted his head against the doorway and broke off a little piece. He stretched in his arm and tried to catch her. She was out of his reach.

A little way from there lived the two Aihayuta and their grandmother. Their grandmother went out-doors and said, "My grandsons, Atoshle is going to eat that girl. If she died, it would never do. You must go and save her. I heard her cry." (She did not really hear her cry. They all knew all the time what they were to do.) They put on what men put on. They took a bow in one hand and a club in the other. They started on a run. When they got there, he was just about to grab the girl. They pulled their bows and shot him. They said, "Why did you want to eat our younger sister?" They said to the girl, "Why do you wander around? Why do you not stay at home?" She was standing there wiping her eyes. They laid the Atoshle out. They said, "Why do you hunt rabbits yourself?" She said, "Because I have no men folks. All the men of the other girls brought in rabbits. I like them, so that is why I went hunting." They cut the stomach of the Atoshle open (making a line down the breast), and out came all the rabbits. They took his heart and threw it to the east, and it became the Big Star (*moyachuntanna*) [Morning star]. They threw his entrails, and they became the Milky Way. They told her to put on her things. She put on her black leggings and her moccasins and skin shoes and dress and belt. They divided the rabbits. There were thirty, each took half and strung them over his back, and they all started out. About daybreak they came to Kateik. Elder Brother (Masawe) went back to his grandmother and Younger Brother had the girl.

She became pregnant. In a few days she had twins, two boys. Four days after that, they were big enough to go around. One day their father went out hunting. In his quiver was his rabbit stick. It was made of a round piece of turquoise. When he threw it, it came back. The two children took it out of the quiver and began to cut each other in two with it and put each other together again. They did it several times. Then the children of the village said, "Cut us in two!" So they cut them in



two and put them together again. Then they cut some other children in two and they could not put them together. They kept cutting them in two until all the children were dead. When the old ones found out their children had been killed, they were angry and were going to kill the two children. But their father told the people they were not children like the others, they were uncooked.<sup>1</sup> He took them to his grandmother. They lived there with him. That is the way.

## II. THE ANIMALS PLAY HIDDEN BALL.<sup>2</sup>

Well, long ago at Chamkyakwea gathered the eagles, the hawks, chickenhawks and redbill hawks, owls and crows, and lion, bear, wolf, badger, and coyote, to talk about the right thing to do. "Here we kill deer; the animals bury them in dirt. We have nothing to eat. Let us do tricks to one another to make it right." Their director is Eagle. Aihayuta came from Uhanakwi. "Have you come? Sit down. What say you? We are going to do tricks to one another." — "That is why I have come." — "We are going to play *iankolowe*."<sup>3</sup> — "That is why I have come." — "I [Eagle] want your ball."<sup>4</sup> — "All right. You will take it along. When you arrive you play *iankolowe* to sunrise before we get there." — "All right." — "I am going." — "All right, go!" He [Eagle] went to Aihayuta's house. With the ball they gave him he reached Chamkyakwea. He went in. "Have you come?" all said to him. "Yes. I have come." — "Have they given you the ball?" — "Yes. They have given it to me. Now let us do it." On the east side were Bear, Wolf, Lion, Badger, Hedgehog. The animals sat down. And on the west side Eagle, the Hawks, Crow, Chickenhawk, sat down. And Squirrel was their "rat".<sup>5</sup> Owl was "rat" for the animals. They played all night. And at Uhanatana the two Aihayuta dressed up in deer hide tied in front. Both went out. "Let us go!" Both went out, before sunrise both arrived. They were having a great time. Both went in. "Have you come?" — "Yes, we have come." Owl has the ball. Squirrel is the "rat", near the fire with his back scorched. They do not find the ball. The animals are walking around inside. The night (not daylight) animals say because the animals killed and buried the deer. Eagle does not like it. That's why the night animals talk. And Owl has the ball, he dances around.<sup>6</sup> The two Aihayuta gave

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the heated sand-bed human children are born on. All spirits are uncooked people.

<sup>2</sup> Informant Waisilutiwa.

<sup>3</sup> See The Zuñi Indians, 333—341; Parsons, E. C. Hidden Ball on First Mesa, Arizona. Man, XXII, 89—91. 1922.

<sup>4</sup> The War gods' ball is asked for as is the rain priest's ball.

<sup>5</sup> The scorer in charge of the tally straws is called "the rat". The "rat" may not stir from his place until the game is won, however long it is.

<sup>6</sup> See The Zuñi Indians, 339.

Squirrel their club, near sunrise. "Now, with this club you will hit Owl. That's the one who has the ball," said the two Aihayuta. As Owl dances, Squirrel hits his hand with the club. He drops the ball. Bear gets the ball. Eagle won the game. "These (birds) go around in the daylight. Their feathers are to finish prayer-sticks. You, Owl, from now on only be around at night because we do not want you by day. You will be hunting at night only," both said to him. "Now you ought not thus to live. Some place you should be to live forever." The two scattered the animals. The two went home. "Have you come?" — "Yes, we have come. We scattered the animals. Now, grandmother, we ought not to live thus, but where we can live forever." — "All right, let us go!" — "Now we go," they said, "where we can live forever." Long ago thus it happened.<sup>1</sup> "I will live here, and, my younger brother, you go to Itiwaklaatikwi to live, and, our grandmother, you go to Shopluwayallakwi to live. So our children can ask for our light (help)."

## 12. THE GAMBLER.<sup>2</sup>

At A'yaa lived a gambler named Takye'aci. One day the two Ahayuta went hunting and came to his house. They entered and began to play with him. They lost their shoes, and their belts and their skull caps, and finally they lost their legs. They had lost everything they had. Then their grandmother came to help them. She knew everything that had happened to them. She went down to a place where four girls were living and said to them, "Your two brothers are gambling and they are losing everything they have. Make them stop." Then she made *c'oliwe* and gave it to the youngest girl. They went to their brothers and entered the house of the gambler. When they came in, they found their brothers lying in the fire. The gambler was going to roast and eat them. They had lost everything, even their own bodies. When the girls came in, the gambler thought that he would win them, too. The eldest one began to gamble with him and she lost. She lost her clothing and even her body. Then the next one sat down and began to gamble. She also lost everything. The third one took her place. She staked her clothing against the clothing of the gambler and she tried to win back her sisters, but she also lost. Then the man arose and attended his fire in order to roast the two Ahayuta well. When he was standing there the youngest girl took his gambling sticks and threw them into the fire. He asked her, "Why do you do that? Those are my means of sustenance." She said, "You can get another set of gambling sticks." He asked, "Where can I get a set of new ones?" Then she took from her belt the sticks which her grandmother had given her and said, "Let us play with this set of sticks." They sat down and began to

<sup>1</sup> Here the narrator might have stopped; but he went on, more specifically, with an after thought.

<sup>2</sup> Recorded by Franz Boas.

gamble. She won his clothes. She won his left leg and, when he staked his right leg, she won that, too. Finally she won his head and she won back her brothers and sisters. Then he staked the west room which was full of corn, and he lost. He staked the north room full of corn, and he lost. And he lost the room in the east and in the south as well. Then he said, "Now I have nothing else to stake." The girl asked her sisters what she should do and the Ahayuta replied, "Let us cut out his eyes." Then they took his hafted knife and cut out both his eyes. He threw the one to the west and said, "You shall be the lying star" (star just before dawn). He threw the other one to the east and it became the morning star. Then the gambler was blind.

The Ahayuta opened the doors of the rooms in which the corn was kept and they looked at the stores which they had won. They put on the belts all they had won and went home. The gambler had a crystal ball which was hanging near the window. He held it to his heart and the ball was transformed into a fire. He threw it and it pursued the Ahayuta and their sisters. When they reached their home they told the people to close the doors. The ball of fire rolled past the village.

### 13. COYOTE AND FOX ARE FRIGHTENED BY THE LITTLE BIRD.<sup>1</sup>

A coyote was walking along a cliff when a little bird, A'kwasukta, suddenly flew up and frightened him so that he fell down the precipice. A short time after this Gray Fox walked along the edge of the cliff. The bird frightened him and he also fell down. Fox asked Coyote, "What are you doing here?" Coyote replied, "A little bird threw me down. And how did you come here?" Fox said, "The same thing happened to me. I looked at the bird when it flew up, missed my footing and fell down the cliff. Where shall we go? We cannot continue to live here. The bird will not allow us to stay here. Let me go eastward." Coyote said, "And I will go to Sus'a'cohtakwe." They separated and since that time Fox and Coyote do not live together.

### 14. WATCHER BLINDED.

Long ago all the birds lived on Towa Yallane. They called out to meet together to contest (*iatsuma*) and see who could fly highest. The owls had big eyes, the others did not want them. Kyapchiko<sup>2</sup> flew highest. Kyapchiko went into the hole of Ground Owl (*totsukwashi*). They put the owl to wait and see when Kyapchiko came out. Ground Owl got tired and he closed one eye. He got tired in the other eye and he closed both eyes. He shut both eyes and Kyapchiko went out. The birds came

<sup>1</sup> Recorded by Franz Boas.

<sup>2</sup> These birds fly around before rain and after. The rain priests use their feathers. They are hard to get.



and asked Ground Owl and he did not know whether Kyapchiko was in or out. They all hated Ground Owl.<sup>1</sup> They got sand and threw it at him.<sup>2</sup> They told him not to come out in the day time, but to come out at night. That is why the owls always come out at night.

### 15. LANDSLIDE.<sup>3</sup>

Ashiwanni Aiyahokwe (the Mustard clan rain priests) at Itiwanna (Zuñi) worked on prayer-sticks. They all went out to put them in, and one of the rain priests forgot his medicines. He went back for them and found his wife with another man. It hurt his heart. He got angry. He took his medicines. He took them where they were going to put in their prayer-sticks. They put down their prayer-sticks and he told the other rain priests (he was chief, *shiwanni mosona*) about his wife. He said he wanted to make a landslide (*anupkwaiye*).<sup>4</sup> He would get a willow stick measured from shoulder to the tip of the middle finger. He took one home and they all worked on it. They used *chimiky'akoa* (from the beginning) *helipone* (*helin*, clay, *pone*, put in), black paint belonging to the priesthoods. They used feathers of turkey, bluejay, flicker, oriole, towhee. They tied it with yucca string.<sup>5</sup> They made the prayer-stick on one day and took it out the next day. Four men took it to the mountains, to Atsinakwi, and all held it. They began to sing, but only in their hearts — *yam* (their) *ikena* (heart) *tenenapkya* (sing). Soon the stick disappeared into the rock by itself. They made no hole. They came home.

For four years he (the chief) did not sleep with his wife. After one year there was a noise under ground. After two years it rumbled again. After three years it rumbled again. After four years the whole village and the whole world shook, and especially the *ettowe* (fetiches) in the bowls of the rain priests and the water in the bowls of everybody. All asked, "Who is trying to make a landslide?" Nobody told.

They looked for the fast runners and they picked out two and sent them to Mukwi (Tusayan). They started in the morning and went all day and the next day they arrived. They stopped nowhere, but went into the rain priest house. They asked the Hopi rain priest, "Now we have a

<sup>1</sup> "All birds hate owls. People hate owls, too. Owls are connected with witches."

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Pueblo Indian Folk-Tales, Probably of Spanish Provenience, JAFI, XXXI, pp. 230, 231.

<sup>3</sup> In September, 1918, a few days before I reached Zuñi, there had been a slide in the side of the mesa to the north, near Atsinakwi. The influenza attacked the town in October and the landslide was said to have been an omen (*tehiuna*). — The omen of the influenza in 1919 was a lunar eclipse — the moon went "black and dead".

<sup>4</sup> "Earthquake".

<sup>5</sup> To make string, the plant is chewed.

landslide at Zuñi. Can you help us to stop it?" — "Yes, maybe we can help your people. We will try hard." They all came together. They worked one day on their feathers. They took them with them the next morning. They travelled one day and one night. The next day they got to Halonakwi (Zuñi). All the rain priests here worked on the feathers. The Hopi took all these feathers over to where the landslide was. When they got there, there was water there and corpses in it with hair floating and hands showing up. They said, "The dead are coming to life, and we are going to die." They crossed sticks of cedar and sat on it [the raft] with their bundled prayer-sticks (*ky'aechin*). They put the prayer-stick bundles down in the middle of the water.<sup>1</sup> As soon as they put it down, the earth stopped shaking. The Hopi waited to see if the earth would stop shaking. It stopped, also the water. They went back. At that time when the Hopi came the Ashiwi (Zuñi) felt pleased with them. Thus it happened long ago and that is why now in the village they do nothing to make the rain priests unhappy. *Lewi*.

#### 16. DEER HUNT.

My wife made me *chuakinaowe*<sup>2</sup> and *he'palokya*.<sup>3</sup> If I brought back any of this food from the hunt she would not eat it; like the deer she might have twins, unless she waved the food around a rung of the house ladder, four times.<sup>4</sup>

My older brother went with me. We went to Prairiedog Hill. My older brother made a sound like Mountain Lion —ho-o! Mountain Lion is the hunter. His cry makes the deer nervous; it stops running. In this way deer can be hunted even without weapons... If you found a fawn alone you would pinch its nose or tail or ears to make it cry out for its mother.

This time my older brother shot the deer in the leg. He told me to

<sup>1</sup> As the rain priests do today in the springs.

<sup>2</sup> Corn roasted and ground, again roasted and ground, and a third time roasted. This, which is "hard to make", is given also to Kyaklo, a prominent masked impersonation in the initiation into the Kachina society.

<sup>3</sup> Wheat soaked in water until it sprouts, then roasted in oven over night and ground.

<sup>4</sup> Deer meat pregnant women may eat, menstruating women also.

With one exception there appear to be no taboos on menstruating women (*adukwe*, blood comes out) at Zuñi. A menstruating woman will not dance because her participation would make the throats of the singing men dancers tire more quickly than usual. (For throat tire, *shoyelatenane*, dancers would eat dry chili, without bread.) I heard of one instance where a girl had been engaged to grind for the Uhuhukwe society, but because she was menstruating her mother kept her home — not on hygienic grounds.

follow the deer. I took off my clothes<sup>1</sup>. I found the deer lying in the river. I tied it up with yucca rope and tried to take it alive to my brother; then I got tired and killed it. I held its mouth shut to keep its breath (*piñan*) inside, that makes the deer live again.<sup>2</sup> I made a sand mound to get it up on my shoulders and used my trousers for a rope... I was hungry and tired and almost crying.

When I reached my older brother we dug a hole and sprinkled in *klo'o*<sup>3</sup> and put the deer on top of the hole; we did this to get deer again easily.

Every morning while I was away my wife brought out Mountain Lion<sup>4</sup> and made a road (sprinkling with meal) from him in the direction I went. She fed him, and when we brought in the deer she rubbed some of his blood on the mouth of Mountain Lion.

When I came with the deer she made the road (with meal) from the door to the middle place under the *shalako teshkwin* (a roof shrine). A double ear of corn (*mykyapani*) was placed between the fore hoofs of the deer, women's blankets were laid over him<sup>5</sup>, he was "smoked", and everyone in the house sprinkled him with meal.

Before and after the hunt we planted prayer-sticks.

#### 17. EAGLE HUNT.<sup>6</sup>

A boy was out hunting rabbits. A witch came and talked to the boy. The boy said he was hunting rabbits. The witch turned the boy into a coyote. Coyote Boy could eat nothing, he was starving and he lay down in the bushes. Eagle came and found Coyote Boy and raised him

<sup>1</sup> In this case, inferably, the hunters had not stalked the deer in the guise once familiar at Zuni and elsewhere — with their face and arms painted yellow and white and the hide and antlers of a deer over their head and stooping back.

<sup>2</sup> This is a reference to the Pueblo belief that game animals become re-incarnate.

<sup>3</sup> Hard, i. e. bits of micaceous hematite (*tsuhapa*), turquoise and abalone, all mixed with corn pollen.

<sup>4</sup> His hunting fetish.

<sup>5</sup> See The Zuñi Indians, Pl. CVI.

<sup>6</sup> This tale was old as explanation of offering *klo'o* (see above) to eagles. It is sprinkled below the nest "if the hunter wants the birds very much and wants them to let him catch them easily" — an instance of the characteristic Pueblo theory that game may be rendered obliging by gift (and prayer). — To ensure docility on the journey home the eagle hunter puts wax from his ear on the head of the bird.

*Klo'o* is also sprinkled on the ground before plucking in order that the new feathers will come in white. Formerly eagles were kept for many years, for considerably longer periods than at present, and as they aged their feathers came in whiter and whiter. According to Stevenson, eagle feathers are washed and rubbed with kaolin to make them white. During the plucking



up. Coyote Boy said, "I am starving to death." Eagle said, "I will carry you, hold on to my back." Eagle carried Coyote Boy up to his house. In the Eagle house Coyote boy saw three Eagle' women, wearing yellow moccasins, their bodies, white. Eagle Man spread down a woman's blanket and put Coyote Boy on it and covered him with another blanket. Eagle Man had a glass ball, he held it in his hand until it got warm, he rubbed it along the hands and arms of Coyote Boy and opened them and the boy came out just as he had been before, but very thin. The eagles had dried deer meat. They cooked it and gave it to the boy.

The boy's family was lonesome and looked for him. Eagle Man called all the eagles together, and each eagle gave the boy two feathers, a tail feather and a wing feather, and made him an eagle dress. They put it on him and made him practice flying in the room. The first time he fell down. The second time he flew better. They took him out and he flew in the air. They sent him down to tell his people that they, the eagles, wanted from the people their best turquoise and their meal. The eagles followed the boy down. They tried to teach him how to kill rabbits. He could not do it. Then the eagles said, "We eat what is raw. You are not used to eat what is raw. You must go home. Tell your people that whenever they want our feathers,<sup>1</sup> they have to give us meal."

While he was still in the air the eagles took away his feather dress, and he dropped down. He was almost unconscious. Then he recovered and

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an ear of white corn is held at the foot of the eagle and at the close, chewed grains from this ear together with kaolin are spit into the mouth of the eagle and rubbed on the body where the white feathers should grow — corn that the feathers may come in soon, as corn comes up, and kaolin that they may be white. ("The Zuñi Indians". p. 114.)

<sup>1</sup> For the kachina impersonators to wear spaced down their flowing hair or under their mask in their forelock. (Members of the curing societies also wear an eagle feather in the forelock.) Such feathers are supposed to be dropped by eagles in their flight, especially for the kachina. If such donations are scarce, feathers will be plucked from captive birds. The point is that kachina hair feathers must be from live birds. Feathers from dead eagles are used in prayer-sticks.

Young birds are taken from the nest by lassooing from above or by lowering a boy into the nest. (See Parsons, E. C. *The Pueblo of Jemez*, p. 69. Dept. of Archaeology, Phillips Academy. Andover. 1925.) When a man finds an eagle nest, he marks the spot by cutting down a nearby tree or by "planting a tree" (putting up a stake?) or by placing some cast off article like an old pair of trousers under a stone below the nest. The nest is henceforth private property, sharable at option, for example, with a brother, a blood brother; but the nest is in no wise clan or group property, as among the Hopi. (Voth, H. R. *Notes on the Eagle Cult among the Hopi Indians*, 107 Pub. 157 Field Mus. of Nat. Hist. 1912; Stephen's Journal, mss.). Eagles are said to nest successively in four places, then to repeat their rounds — an amusing carrying over of the pattern of the ceremonial circuit.

went home and told his people. After four days the eagles chased him when he was out in the fields and killed him. That is why people put down corn meal under the eagle and bury<sup>1</sup> the eagle, not merely throw it out. And that is why after a person dies, people think he goes to heaven.<sup>2</sup>

18. THE HOPI CHILDREN BECOME BIRDS.<sup>3</sup>

mas	ino'te	mukwina	hualap	ta'htcic	ahayuta	a'tci
	long ago	Hopi	village stood	meanwhile		both
kwiliyälakwi		yam	hotil'i		k'yäkwe'kyä	
at Twin Mountains		their	grandmother having		lived	
a'tc	tunal'ukyä		a'tci	mukwinakwin	te'tcikyä	a'tci
both	were going about visiting		both	Hopi country	arrived	both
te'tcip	lapale'akya	oti'we		a'tci	huala'kona	
arrived	(name of dance)	they were dancing		both	village about	

<sup>1</sup> A dead eagle, like many sacrosanct things, is buried in the river bed to be washed away. As in a human burial, the grave is sprinkled with meal before the body is lowered. Prayer-sticks are not planted for eagles nor prayer "eggs" deposited as among the Hopi. With the complacency characteristic of his people, my informant added that there were more eagles in Zuñi territory and their nests were more accessible. Such Hopi practice to increase eagles were unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> *Iyamakwi*, above place, or, a less common term, *apoyena*, rocks cover. "Above the clouds there is a place like this ground." Whether this expression refers to the big hole above the clouds as referred to elsewhere in Pueblo circles or whether it is merely a Catholic acculturation like the term heaven used in translation, I do not know. From no other Zuñi informant have I ever heard that the dead ascend, and I surmise that this is an individual attempt at acculturation, and was merely tried on me as a White. The informant was a new acquaintance and was unaware that I knew anything of Koluwala'wa the subaqueous destination of the dead. He did not speak English, but he knew something of admittedly Mexican tradition. "Lihos (Dios) separated us, the Ashiwi, from all the people to the East, the people of Laguna, Acoma, San Domingo; Lihos did not separate the people to the West, the Hopi, the Apache, the Comanche, because they were not baptized (*kwa ko'shoname*)." He knew, too, something of the doctrine of punishment after death. "If a Zuñi marries a White, after death he will turn into a horse; if he marries a Mexican, into a burro; a Navaho, into a coyote; a Hopi, into a deer. When he marries another Ashiwi, he goes to Koluwala'wa. Anyone eating horse meat will not go to Koluwala'wa."

<sup>3</sup> This is the same story as that on p. 35; but it was dictated by L., our interpreter, who was not satisfied with some of the forms used by the story teller, Waisilutiwa. Dr. Ruth Bunzel has been kind enough to make a considerable number of corrections in these texts.

yalacon al'up	a'mukwe	a'wokya	he'palacna'we
visiting going about	Hopi	all the women	taking out (he' palokya) <sup>1</sup> from oven
kwa' tcuhoł	a'tcia	acuwam'e	kwa'tcuhoł
not anyone	the two	speak	not anyone
a'tci	a'yatsap	ak'ya	a'tci
both	being ugly	because	both
lesna	al'ukya	s'a'tci	
	went about	both	
mak'yaiakwin	tahna	łualakwin	paniikyä
south towards		town to	went down
ta'htcic	tcuwa		
meanwhile	a certain		
okyätsik	łaci	sama	k'yakwe'kya
woman	old	alone	lived
a'tcia	cemakyä	a'tci	
the two	she called in	both	
kwatop	a'tcian	okcik t'a	p'okyä
entering	for the two	rabbit and jack rabbit	stew
wolean	wolunan		
	putting in a bowl		
a'tcian	hep'alokya	wolup	
for the two	cake in cooking pot	having put in a bowl	
a'tci	i'tokyä.		
the two	ate		
a'tci	tcunap	les a'tcian	wolatukyä.
the two	having finished	for them	cleared away
a'tci	akwali	heakya.	heanan
both	azurite-malachite	ground	having ground it
a'tci	yam		
both	their		
hota	s'lesanakwakyä	si' hota	t'o'
grandmother	thus said to her	now grandmother	you
cokyak'yän'a			
	shall wait here		
ho'na	łual'ona	uwełanan	ante'unapkyä
to us	people of the town	great wrong	have done
yam			
kops'emaonan	hon	a'wan	te'un'a
what we like	we	to them	shall do
t'o'	cokya	yam	kwahoł
	wait		something
i'tse'manona		t'o'	i'hap'ok'yänna
that which you wish for	you	shall gather	
hon	i'ap		
	we	when (we) come	
hon	a'wa'nuwa	a'tci	yam
we	shall go	both	their
akwal	helin	i'leanan	
	pigment	picking up	
sunha'kwin	tahna	a'tci	paniikyä.
west	direction	both	descended.
pola	elakwi		
	cottonwood tree	stand where	
a'tci	te'tcikä.	te'tcinan	
both	arrived.	when they get there	
a'tci	ko'wi	a't'sana	e'kyä'tsik
both	a few	children	girls
t'ap	a'waktsiki	a'tci	hapokyaenan
and	boys	both to them	having
a'tci	pol	elakwin	
both	at the cotton-	wood tree	

<sup>1</sup> Wheat flour cooked in corn husk or bowl in outside oven.



a'wil'i them with	paniikyä down	a'tci both	yam their	akwał azurite-malachite	heakonak'ya ground with		
a't'sana children	a'hekcik'yäkyä painted		si' now	a'tsana children	hon we	ta'htcic meanwhile	otiwa dance
t'o'nawan your	a'łacina'we old ones	yam their	łuala village	yam their	otiwap dancing	'ta tciłun (we will dance here, too)	
otiwe dance	a'tci both	le'a'wanikwakya thus said to them	si' now	ansamo all of you	t'on luk'y you this	po'la cottonwood	
yatci' branches	temła all	t'on you	yat'ena'wap taking hold of	lesna this way	hon we	otiwa dance	hacina tight
t'on you	yat'ena'wa shall (it)	a'tci both	le'a'wanikwakya thus said to them.	si now	weanawe! cry out!	a'tsana children	
weana'kya. cried out.	a! a! a! a!		a'tsana children	temła all	a'akya jays	a'wiyokyä became	
ta'htcic meanwhile	a'wan their	a'łacina'we old ones	a'wiokya turn into stone		ak'ya for that reason	lak'y now	
isk'on there	awatuya. (place name).	a'tci both	yam their	hota grandmother	inkwin where she is	ana'kyä ran off	
a'tci both	te'tcinan arrive	si' now	hota grandmother	hanate hurry	yelete'u get ready	a'tci both	yam their
hota grandmother	le'anikwakya said to her	a'tcia their	hota grandmother	yam their	woleakya boiling pot	te'le	
i'setop carried on back	kyes now	utalaikya they ran off	kyas utalaikya.... (ya prolonged to show distance) now they ran off.				
ahokk'yänakwi red spring place		yam their	hot'ili with grandmother		a'tc both	iap came	a'tcia their
hota grandmother	isk'on there	yu'te'tciikyä got tired	si' now	hota grandmother		liłk'on'te here in this place	
to' you	kwaton'a shall go in	ak'ya so	lił here	okyätsik'i old woman	kwatokya went in	teci'ik'yäna this place shall be called	
le'a'tc so they	yam their	hota grandmother		anikwakya said to her	atcia' their	hota grandmother	
kwatokya went in	kyesi started	a'tci both	akya coming	yam their	k'yäkwı house	kwilli two	yällakwi mountains

a'tci yam hota inkwin s'i'kyä a'tcia hota  
 both their grandmother where she is now came their grandmother  
 kec t'on i'a a'tcia leanikwakyä hota hon u'weyackyä  
 are you coming their said to them grandmother we we have  
 done wrong  
 hon at'sana a'akyä a'wackyä a'wan a'facinawona hon  
 we children jays made their old ones we  
 awackyä kopla'ti kwa t'on yaiyu' ya'name koplat  
 turn into stone why not you (to be bad) have no sense why  
 ton lesna te'ukya ma' elle hon lesna  
 you thus have done? it is all right (never mind) we that  
 te'ukya ho'na lualona kwa tcuhoł a'cuwamekyä kwa  
 did to us people of the village nobody spoke to us not  
 ho'na tcuhoł i'tok'yänamekyä ak'ya hon lesna te'ukya  
 to us anybody fed so we thus did  
 ma elle hon lesna te'ukya kwa a'akya ellaname'kyä  
 well all right we in this way did not jays there was none  
 before  
 ak'ya hon a'tsana temla a'akya a'washk' ak'ya ho'na'wan  
 so we children all jays turned into so ours  
 a'wan tcawe ak'ya a'wan lawakya ho'na telikinan  
 their children so their feathers with to us prayer sticks  
 a'le'ana'wa ko'm eł hołno t'on s'al'unamt'u a'tcia  
 they shall give now don't any place you now do not go off their  
 hota le'anikwakya hołno al'u'anip'e'kyä  
 grandmother said to them any place not to go about go about she  
 forbade them  
 lesna a'teakyä am papa leskwakya kwa liik'on'te  
 in this way they lived elder brother said not here  
 hon a'te'ap ellecuk'wa hoł yam icełtema  
 we staying it will not be right some place our forever  
 teatuntekwin hon a'wa'nuwa ho'na hota  
 going to live place we shall go our grandmother  
 co'luayälakwin t'o' i'teun lał hom  
 Arrow Standing Mountain you stay and my  
 (place name)  
 suwe to' la ułetahnakwi t'o'  
 younger brother you (place name) Sticks Against the Wall Corner you

a·nuwa isk'on t'o' iteun lał ho liłk'onte ho' tek'yän'a  
 shall go there you stay and I here I shall stay

aiyahuta am papa a'tcia le'anikwakya ak'yä  
 elder brother to them thus they said (to them) so

hokyan hokyampi a·winakwe a·wiap yam tcawe  
 any place from whatever place enemy come our children

hon a·yu'ya·k'yäna·wa le'tikwanan hoł  
 we warn (let them know) thus they said to each other some place

yam icełtema a·te'atun tekwi i'wohayakyä  
 their forever live where they were to live places they scattered

in'ote le'na teatikya le· wi  
 long ago thus it happened that is all

19. THE ANIMALS PLAY HIDDEN BALL.<sup>1</sup>

Mas imat in'ote tcamk'yäkwea k'yä k'äli hap'okya.  
 Well long ago at (place name) eagles gathered.

aneława pipi hatcu łanona pipi kyate'ahona  
 hawks (large) hawk chicken hawk big hawk tail red

muhukwe uhsona k'walaci lał hoktitaca aince yunawiko  
 owl those crows and lion bear wolf

tonaci lał susk' hap'onan p'ewokya.  
 badger and coyote gathered together there was no discussion.

"kopleat'ap elek'yän'a. hon lił nawe łakna·wap ho'na·wan  
 "what how will be right. we here deer when (we) kill our

wema· wołonawap sopo'yoap kwa i'tonakya elam'e."  
 animals when they are buried dirt covered. no to eat is not good."

"honkwat hon i'yat'sumana·wap elek'yänä."  
 "perhaps we if (we) do tricks to each other have a contest it will be right."

"ma lesnatap ellek'yän'a."  
 well that will be right (thus being will be right.)

a·wan mosona k'yäk'yäli aihayut inkwin i'kya  
 their director eagle where he lives came

<sup>1</sup> Compare Navaho tradition that the moccasin game was first played by the animals of the day and night to decide whether a difference between day and night should exist. (Franciscan Fathers. *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, 485—6. St. Michael's, Arizona. 1910; Matthews, W. *Navaho Gambling Songs*, *American Anthropologist* II (1889), 1—19.) Also see Cherokee, James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, XIX Rep. Bur. Amer. Eth. 286—7.



uhanakwi. "kyec t'o' i'a i'mu kop t'o' ikwe'a?"  
 (place name). now have you come sit down what you do (you) say?"

"ma hon i'yat'sumana'wetiahnan ak'ya ho'  
 we are going to do tricks to each other that's why (therefore) I

i'a. hon i'yank'olonawetiahnan ak'ya ho' i'a. t'o'nan  
 come. we going to play iankolowe that's why I come. your

ulin ho' ceme'a." "ma honkwa'ati ten t'o' le a'nuwa  
 ball I ask for." "is that so? then you taking it will go.

t'o'te'tcip t'on i'yank'olonan'a t'ek'ohatip la'hok  
 you get there arriving you will play iankolowe at sunrise yonder

hon te'tcin'a. hon te'tcip t'on i'yank'olonan'a."  
 we shall arrive when we get there you play iankolowe."

"mahonkwa'ati so' a'ne." "tuu a'ce." s'a'kyä.  
 "is that so? now I am going." "you go." ("go ahead go.") so he went.

ahayuta k'yäkwen ulin ukna'koa  
 house ball (to play) which he had given to him

s'leakya tcamk'yäkwewi lea te'tcinan  
 with now they carried at (place name) with it he got there carrying  
 it arriving

kwatokyä. "kyec t'o'i'a?" le'anak' yäp "e' ho'  
 he went in. "now have you come?" so all said to him "yes I

s'i'a." "kyec t'om ulin ukna'kya?" "ma hom  
 now come." "now to you ball did he give?" "well me

s'ukna'kya." "si ko'ma hon lesnunapce."  
 they gave." (that he gave me.) "now all right let us do it."

t'ewankwin tahna aince yunawik hoktitac tonaci tcipin  
 to the east direction bear wolf lion badger hedgehog

wema' s'it'inakyä. lał sunhakwin tahna k'yäk'yäli pipi  
 animals now sat down. and to west direction eagle hawks

aneława k'walaci hatcu it'inakya lał yaci a'wan  
 hawks crow chicken hawk sat down and squirrel their

ko'tci lał wema' a'wan muhuk ko'tci i'yankolonapkyä  
 rat and animals their owl rat they played iankolowe

t'elinante'na t'ahtcic uhana tahna ahaiyut a'tci i'ya'k'takyä  
 all night meanwhile at (place) both made themselves  
 ready

i'kep	lapatsak'yak'ya		a'tci	kwai'ikyä	si'ana	hon
dressed in	deer hide tied in	front	both	went out	come on	we
a'ce	a'tc	a'kyä	t'ek'ohatip	a'tci	te'tcikyä	at'anitip
let (us) go	both	went	at dawn	both	got there	having a great time (lit. where it was dangerous)
a'tci	kwatokyä	kyec	t'on	i'a	ma	son
both	went in	have	you	come	yes	we
						i'a
						muhiukwi
ulin	leaye	ko'tci	yaci	alapila	masisosa	
ball	has	rat	squirrel	near fire	back being scorched	
kwä	tapnakwa'wam'e		wema'	a'wulaca		kwa
they do not find	the ball		animals	are walking around	inside	not
t'ek'ohatinam'tunona		wema	a'p'eye'a	ak'yäp	wemawe	
to be daylight.		animals	talk (are talking)	because	animals	
nawe	laknan	wolowena'wap	k'yäk'äli	kwa	antecemana'wam'e	
deer	killed	buried	eagle	not	don't want	
lesnakya		kwa	yatok kwe'	nam'tunona		
that's the reason		not	to be there at	sunrises (there is to be no sunrise)		
wema'	a'p'eye'a	tahtcic	muhiukwi	ulin	leä	ota
animals	talk	meanwhile	owl	ball	has	dancing
al'ukyä		tahtcic	ahaiyut	a'tc	yam	t'ame
he went about		meanwhile		both		club
						yacia
						squirrel
ukya	kye'si	s'yätokwe'na	si'	lukyä	t'amak'ya	t'o'
gave	now	now sun will rise	now	this one	club with	you
muhiukwi	yaktoni'a	uhsona	ulin	leaye	ahayuta	a'tc
owl	will hit	that one	ball	has		both
le'anikwakya.	yaci	muhiukwi	otalunankwi			
thus said to him.	squirrel	owl	where he was going about	dancing		
te'tcinan	t'amakya	asi	yaktokyä.	ulin	yaknahap	aince
get there	with a club	hand	hit him.	ball	dropped it	bear
						ball
yat'ep	k'yäk'yali	okyanapka.		"kwa t'on le'na	i'wik'oce-	
gets hold	eagle	they won the game.		"not you thus		
napcukwa)				ak'yäp	luknio	
you shall play with	one another.			because	these (birds)	
yat'op	a'walu'ya.	lukni	a'wan	latawakya	telikina'	
by day	go around.	these	their	feathers wings with	prayersticks	
a'ya'ye.		t'o'	muhiuk	ele		t'o'
become finished.		you	owl	from now on it is well	you	

t'elap	te'tci	al'un'a		ak'yäp	kwa	t'o'
only	night	around	(by night only shall go about)	because	not	you
yatokwe	tunona	antecemanamkyä	t'elap	te'tci	'to'	
to be	sunrise	do not want.	by night	only	you	
latal'un'a."	a'tci	le'anikwakya.	"si'	kwa	le'na	
shall go about hunting."	both	thus said to him.	"now	not	thus	
t'on	a'teap	elecukwa.	ho'no	yam	ice'tema	yam
you	living	will not be right.	any place		forever	you
teatun	tekwa		t'on	i'wohaiyak'yän'a	kwa	le'na
live forever	where you shall live		you	will scatter	not	thus
t'on	a'teap	elecukwa."	wema'	a'tci	wohaya'nan	a'tci
you	live	ought."	animals	both	scattered them	both
k'yäkwin	a'kyä.	"kyec	t'on	i'a?"	"e	hon
home	went.	"have you		come?"	"yes	we
hon	wema'	s'wohaiya'kyä.	si'	hota	kwa	le'na
we	animals	we scattered.	now	grandmother	not	thus
a'teap	elecukwa.		ho'no	yam	ica'tema	
living	it will not be right.		wherever		forever	
teatuntekwin			hon	a'wa'nuwa	"ma	
live forever	where (we) shall live		we	(shall go)		
honkwa'ati	si'ana	ko'ma	hon	a'wa'ce."		
we all right is that so.	come on	now very well	we	go."	("let's go.")	
le'tikwanan	ho'no	yam	ice'tema	teatuntekwin		
thus saying	wherever	their	forever	live where they would live		
i'wohaiakyä.	ino'te	le'na	teatikyä.	le'wi.	a'wa'nan	
they scattered	long ago	thus	it happened.	that's all	they go	
"ho'	li'ı	tek'yän'a.	laı	hom	suwe	t'o'
"I	here	will live.	and	my	brother	you
t'o'	a'nuwa	lak'on	t'o'	i't'elacinun'a	laı	ho'na
you	go	there	you	will enshrine yourself	and	our
hota	t'o'	co'luayälakwin	a'nuwa	lak'on	t'o'	
grandmother	you		go	there	you	
itełacinun'a."	ak'ya	ho'na'wan	tcawe	ho'na		
will enshrine yourself."	so	our	children	our		
t'ek'ohanan	yaincemenawa.					
light (life)	will ask for.					

<sup>1</sup> Shrine three or four miles southeast of town.



## EIGHT STORIES FROM ACOMA.

BY RUTH BENEDICT.

### THE TRAVELS OF SALT WOMAN.

The people were living at Cipap.<sup>1</sup> They set out to separate over the world. Salt Woman said, "I shall travel anti-clockwise around the earth, circling inward (spiral fashion) to its center. Follow after me. Tell your children and your children's children that they will meet me again at a place called Acoma at the middle of the world."

Salt Woman travelled. In the west she camped at a great salt lake. Wherever she camped she made a great salt lake. She travelled all around the world and became dirty as a Navaho. She came to a small pueblo and stopped there to rest. She went into the kiva with the men. There was no other woman with them in the kiva and the men said to her, "Parch corn for us." — "Gladly." She parched the corn that they put into her hands. When she had parched it she washed her hands in the wash water. With a corn-cob she sprinkled the wash water over the corn. It was good. Up to that time people had seasoned their food with alkali. As soon as the men had eaten they said, "We have never tasted corn like this." They said to Salt Woman, "Prepare all the corn that we have."<sup>2</sup> "Gladly."

Next day she parched their corn. Two of the men of that society said to each other, "How is it that this corn tastes so good? What does she do to it?" They hid themselves in the corner of the house where she parched the corn, covering themselves with blankets. They saw her take wash water and wash her hands. With the corn-cob she sprinkled the dirty water over the corn. The men went back to the kiva secretly and lay down on their stomachs in a far corner.

Salt Woman brought the parched corn into the kiva. They called to one another to taste the corn. They called to the two men who were lying on the floor, but they made no move to come and eat. They said, "That corn is dirty. We saw her sprinkle it with the wash water."

The war chief also wished her to parch corn for his family. He went to ask her. He told her what the two men had said about her. Salt Woman answered, "Let it be brought before the kiva." When evening came Salt Woman went to the kiva. They sat together for a while. The chief rolled native tobacco and wrapped it in a corn husk. He lit it and offered it to Salt Woman to smoke.<sup>3</sup> She took it. She blew the smoke to the north, west, south and east, and she said. "Whatever you want to know,

<sup>1</sup> The interpreter suggested that this was Eskimo country. There blue lights shoot up straight into the sky at night.

<sup>2</sup> All the kiva supply.

<sup>3</sup> "The smoking is a pledge to tell the truth."

I will answer willingly." The war chief said to her, "Who are you?" She answered, "I am Salt Woman." They recognised her. The war chief said, "Two of the members of our society watched you secretly. They saw that you washed your hands in the wash water and sprinkled the corn with it." "Yes. I have salted the corn. From now on without salt you will not enjoy your food. Now that you have tasted it you will not please your bodies without it. These two men that spied on me I will take with me on my journey and they shall serve me." There were two brothers who offered to go with her also. The four men accompanied her.

Next day she set out on her travels. They reached Mo'ts' (Hopi). They were having a great ceremony there. Salt Woman and her four companions went from house to house. Nobody offered them any food. They were dirty and poor. While they were travelling all over the village, a girl of the pueblo saw them. She returned to her home and told her grandparents. Her grandfather said, "Bring them into our house. We are poor, but we are glad to feed them. It may be one of our relatives that we are expecting at this place. Invite them to eat with us." The girl went out and waited for them patiently outside the house. Salt Woman and her companions came and the girl took them inside. They treated them like relatives and set food before them. When they had eaten they said, "Who are you?" Salt Woman answered, "I am Salt." The grandfather wept that they had almost forgotten her. Salt Woman said, "My other relatives did not greet me nor offer me food. You are my friends, but the others I shall destroy."

Salt Woman went out of the house with her four companions. They went to the south where they had left their games and bows and arrows. All the children in the village followed them out of the village. Salt Woman said to them, "Go back and bring whatever paint is in your houses and I will paint you for a game." So she painted their bodies and faces with all the different colors. She chose a large willow tree and held down the top branches for the children to catch hold of. When the branches were full of children she let go of the branch and it lifted the children up into the air. They were all the different kinds and colors of birds. They flew off and the people in the village saw how many birds there were and said, "Something has happened down there where the children went."

Salt Woman told her servants to play the game of shooting a ball with arrows. She said, "Roll the ball toward the village and circle the pueblo. Then roll it into the center of the dancers. Pretend to shoot at the ball but hit the big drum they are using for the dance." Salt Woman kicked the ball in the direction they were to go. They circled the village. Everyone was watching the dancers and no one realised what was happening. They kicked the ball into the middle of the dancers and one of the arrows hit the big drum. As the arrow went through the head of the drum the whole tribe became rock. In this way Salt Woman destroyed the village.

She started out again on her travels with her four companions. As they went on, every day she grew larger and heavier. Salty sores appeared upon her body. She said to them, "In four days we shall reach our home." They went on for two days. The two brothers who were with her asked Salt Woman that they might go on ahead to look for water at the next camp. She said, "Yes, you will find water." They left the other two to be a guard for her. When the brothers were returning, the older brother said, "When we get to the top of this mesa I am going to throw my flint knife at her. I will call out to her to catch it and hold it steady." The younger brother did not like this. He knew Salt Woman was very powerful. When they got to the top of the hill they saw the other approaching them. The older brother called out to Salt Woman to catch the knife. She reached up her hand and caught it. It did not knock her head off. The brother asked her to throw the club back at him. "All right." He stood as if to catch the flint knife. It cut off the heads of both brothers.

She said, "I am sorry I have killed them." She went up to them and put their bodies and heads together. She covered them with their blankets. They danced in a circle around the two and sang. When the song was ended the two men jumped up from under the blanket. They said, "We went to sleep." — "My dear children, you were not asleep. I cut your heads off." — "Never mind, mother, we did this on purpose to make red paint from our blood. The Indians shall come here and gather the red rock and grind it for paint for their faces and bodies in the dance."

They went on till they reached Kominatsi (the salt lake in the Apache country near Acoma). Salt Woman said, "This is my home. I cannot travel farther. Whoever comes here can read his fortune in the water." She was salt. That is why medicine men put water in a pottery dish before their altars and read their fortunes in the water. And that is why whoever goes to the Salt Lake to be healed is well again.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE K'OBICTAIYA ARE CHALLENGED TO THE TEST OF LIGHTNING.

Long ago when giants were still on the earth, a giant was walking among the red cliffs southeast of Acoma. Yellow Woman was hunting there, and he saw her. He followed her till she took refuge from him in a cave in the rocks. Patuchima saw the giant waiting for her to come out of the cave. He took his long flint knife and went down to save Yellow Woman. He threw his flint knife, and it struck the giant and cut off his head. Yellow Woman was terribly frightened, and Patuchima took her to his own house till she should recover from her fear.

<sup>1</sup> The Parrot and Pumpkin clans always furnish the leaders on the salt expeditions and are in charge of the salt. Expeditions take prayersticks with them and lay them down at some distance before they reach the salt lake. Men on their first trip go into the Salt Lake naked.



Now when the masked dancers knew that Patuchima<sup>1</sup> had had Yellow Woman in his house<sup>2</sup> they accused him and said that he had lost his power. Patuchima said no, he had not had intercourse with her. They agreed to put it to the test by lightning. On the fourth day they went to call upon the Lightning to strike him, and if he had lost his power, Lightning would strike him dead.

Patuchima went out into the desert looking for a horned toad and a mud turtle.<sup>3</sup> On the fourth day he took them with him to the contest. The clouds came from all directions and the lightning flashed and the thunder rolled. The clouds came nearer and nearer. Patuchima stood up waiting for the Lightning; his right foot was on the mud turtle, and his left upon the horned toad. Therefore the Lightning struck all about him but could not hit him.

Then Patuchima challenged the K'oBictaiya to prove that his power was still his and that he had not slept with Yellow Woman.<sup>4</sup>

When the fourth day came the K'oBictaiya gathered in their kiva. They thought that they were hidden from the lightning because they were underground, but Lightning wound itself around the ladder of their kiva and tore their bodies to bits and scattered them in every direction. After Lightning came a terrible Thunder; then a second Thunder which drew the scattered bits together. When they came to life, they were all pieced together wrong, a red body with a white arm, one green leg and one yellow one, one leg that was half one color and half another. So Patuchima overcame the K'oBictaiya.

This is why in the November ceremonies, the K'oBictaiya come painted pi-fashion. They do not dance, but come from the rocks to the east, and just about sunrise they climb to the top of the mesa up the south way by the stone steps. They bring gifts to their relatives, the people of Acoma.

#### KAUPAT'A.<sup>5</sup>

In those days they invented all the games for gambling. They played at a kind of quoits.<sup>6</sup> But they grew tired of gambling in this fashion and

<sup>1</sup> A masked dancer.

<sup>2</sup> A masked dancer loses his power if he sleeps with a woman during the time of the ceremony, i. e. when he is under the ceremonial tabus.

<sup>3</sup> These are specific charms against lightning.

<sup>4</sup> "He was afraid they would think that the horned toad and the turtle turned the power of the lightning," and that he had not conquered by the ceremonial purity he claimed.

<sup>5</sup> "Kaupat'a appears as a masked dancer at the Winter Solstice ceremony. He is blind and is led by his old grandmother."

<sup>6</sup> The gamblers sat in a circle and in the middle was placed a circle of stones which was divided in sectors. In the center there was a large stone upon which the gamblers bounced a square carved wooden block. Markers were cut on this and the game was counted according to the way it fell.

they invented the stick race.<sup>1</sup> The good runners liked the stick race, but those who could not run wanted another game. They invented "toss".<sup>2</sup>

But they grew tired of this game, and they invented hidden ball.<sup>3</sup> They staked their lives on hidden ball. They sang all night and in the morning at the end of four days the winners took their great flint knives from around their necks and cut a slit in the earth. The losers fell into the cavity and were lost.

Every day the sun watched them playing hidden ball. He was angry because so many people were losing their lives. He called his only son and he said to him, "Make yourself ready and visit the earth." He took him to a place where sharp thorns grew and he thrust his hands upon the thorns so that blood dripped from his hands. Everywhere his blood dripped it colored the rocks and they are used as paint by the Indians. The Sun gave his son a bundle of one hundred straws cut evenly at the ends and four cylinders with which to play hidden ball. He gave him also the ball to hide. He said, "Take these with you to the earth and show them how to gamble. Teach them not to gamble for human lives, but only for ornaments and valuable things. Do to these katchinas, the gamblers, what they have done to others. On the first four games that you play stake the lives that they have already won. Your cousin, the Moon, and I will help you."

Tsutea started down and came to the earth. He travelled for many days and came to the far north.<sup>4</sup> The gamblers were gathered in the kiva gambling. He sat at the hatchway and watched the game. He held carefully the gambling outfit the Sun had given him. From the hatchway he called down to them in which cylinder the ball was hidden. He was always right and the katchinas called him in, saying, "Who are you who always guess the hidden ball? Come down and play with us." They hid the ball, but he said, "Let us play a new game. Let us play four times and stake the lives that you have won." The gamblers whispered to each other and said, "He is young. He will soon lose his life." They started a new game.

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<sup>1</sup> The race was run barefoot and the runners kicked a round cylinder about three inches long. Each side had a stick, one painted black at both ends, the other painted black in the middle.

<sup>2</sup> A large pottery disk was hung from the ceiling. Each player had a number of small pottery disks and he threw them into the air trying to make them stay on the hanging disk. No longer played.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Acoma rules, in order to win the game. Two empty containers were to be picked up first, then one empty one, leaving the container in which the small ball had been hidden, untouched till the last. While they were secreting the ball in the cylinder, a blanket was held by two men between the two sides.

<sup>4</sup> *Kaci Ka'tcut<sup>ya</sup>*, White House of the North.

They played four times. The gamblers gave the boy the ball to hide first and he sang his gambling song. They did not know any of the songs that he sang, and they laughed at him. He held the ball and sang his four songs while the men were holding the curtain to shield him. The fourth song was stranger than all the rest and the katcinas thought to themselves, "Perhaps he has supernatural power?" He won that game. All the games that he played he won. He won back the lives of all the peoples that had been destroyed by earthquake and he brought them back to life. When they crawled out of the ground, they looked like rabbits. They became people.

In the morning just at sunrise he won the fourth game. He said to the katcinas, "Hereafter do not gamble for lives. Gamble for valuable articles, and use a bundle of a hundred straws to keep track of your games." So he laid down the rules of hidden ball.

The Sun's son set out to find the most dangerous of all the supernatural gamblers. His name was Kaupat'a. He travelled many days and he came to his house. Kaupat'a was gambling. He received him kindly, and gave him food. The gambler placed an herb in the food he gave to his visitors so that their minds grew weaker and weaker and they lost the game. Tsutea, however, had a secret belt around his waist and he slipped into it the gambler's food. After they had eaten Kaupat'a offered him cigarettes. The boy substituted his own cigarette and smoked it. Kaupa'ta mixed this same herb in the cigarettes he offered to visitors, so that they could not win the game. Kaupat'a said, "Why have you come here?" "I have come to gamble with you." "Yes. Let us gamble." Each of them wanted to use his own gambling outfit. At last they agreed to use the Sun's child's cylinders for the first games, and then to use Kaupat'a's. They gambled all night with the Sun's son's cylinders and Kaupat'a lost everything. First he staked the lives of people he had destroyed and he had to bring them back to life. He tried to win back what he had lost and he staked his whole country. He lost that and he tried to win it back by staking his house. He lost that and he tried to win it back by staking his clothing. He lost that and he tried to win it back by staking his household goods. He lost and he staked his moccasins, then his blankets, then one leg, then both legs, then one arm, then the other arm, and last of all, he staked his eyes. He lost and the Sun's child said to Kaupat'a, "I will not take your life away. I have won everything. And all that I will do is to dig out your eyes. You might be useful in some way without eyes." He dug out the gambler's eyes and threw them up to the sky as stars and when the children look through a certain hole in the rock they look up to the sky and see his two eyes shining there. Sun's child told everyone who had been watching the game to take something out of Kaupat'a's house and he said to them, "This game shall not be played for human lives. You will stake only ornaments and valuable things." So the people took everything from Kaupat'a. All that was left was a powerful torch which was hidden in the ceiling between two rafters.



Kaupat'a was blind. He crept around his house trying to find his torch. He searched for it and found it where he had put it. He took his flint and struck fire. He sang his supernatural song and set fire to pitch from the piñon trees. He stirred the burning pitch and set his house on fire. He stirred it round and round and the lava flowed in both directions to the north and west.<sup>1</sup>

The birds tried to put a stop to the burning earth. Crow was snow-white. He tried to beat out the fire with his wings and he was changed by the heat till he became black. Eagle also was snowwhite, and the smoke changed his feathers to its own color. Kowata went too close to the flames also, and the fire colored his wings and tail red. Buzzard led the attack of the birds upon the fire and the heat burned off the feathers on his head and made the feathers on his body black. Hummingbird flew around the great waters to the north, west, south and east, to rouse the tides to put out the fire. He flew through the rainbow and for this reason the hummingbird wears the colors of the rainbow in the feathers around his neck. The clouds came from every direction. The hail fell on the burning lava rock, but it could not cool the terrible heat. Rain fell and the lava rock stopped flowing and the fire was put out.

There was a witch who was married to a husband who did not belong to the witches. Every night the witches met in their cave in the rocks and her companions scolded her saying, "Every night you are late because you have to wait for your husband to fall asleep. How can we have our meeting?" The witch was in love with one of the handsome men who belonged to the witches.

That night her husband only pretended to sleep and he followed her to the meeting place. He listened and he heard them planning to kill him so that his wife could be more prompt to the meeting. The magic of the witches would not work and at last they were suspicious and they said, "Someone is watching us." They sent the witch woman out to look. She stepped on her husband. "Who is that?" — "I am your husband." — "Come with me!" She took her husband before the witches' council. They made him sleep and gave him to his wife to lead away. She took him to every cave in the mountains. She said, "Is there a room for my husband so that I can put him to bed?" and she answered as if the answer came from inside the cliff, "No, there is no room." At last she came to a cave and she said, "Is there a room for my husband?" And it answered, "Yes, there is a room for your husband." She left him there on the cliff in a cave from which he could not get down.

Next morning he woke. He was in great trouble. He called for help, and nearby the chipmunks heard him. They said to one another, "I hear a call." The youngest chipmunk said, "I see a man sitting on a cliff,

<sup>1</sup> "The bed of black lava runs north and northwest about seventy miles from Acoma."

crying for help." All the chipmunks went out to see what they could do. They climbed up to the ledge where he was. They said to him, "What is it that you wish?" "Is there any way to get down this precipice? I am thirsty and hungry and I cannot move." The chipmunks said, "We will feed you and give you water. Do not fear; in some way we will help you down." They went back to their home and brought an acorn cup. They filled it with water and carried it up the cliff. The man laughed when he saw the tiny cup. They said, "You cannot drink all the water that we have brought you." He put it to his lips and drank and drank. He could not drink all the water in the acorn cup. Every day the chipmunks brought him nuts and water. At the foot of the cliff they planted a cottonwood tree. They pulled and pulled it so that it would grow fast. On the fourth day it had grown as high as the ledge. He climbed down the cottonwood tree. The chipmunks said to him, "Your wife is living with her witch sweetheart. Go to Spider Woman and she will tell you what you are to do."

He went to Spider Woman. She said to him. "On the fourth day your wife has planned to call the whirlwind. It would have blown you off the cliff and killed you. Take these two herbs. When you find your wife and her lover, take one of these herbs and paint the crowns of their heads and the centers of the soles of their feet and the middle of the palms of their hands. Do not be afraid that they will wake up. When you have finished, pull their arms away from each other and sprinkle the second herb over their bodies."

He found his wife and her lover and did as Spider Woman had told him. In the morning when they woke they had been changed. They were both ugly. The witch woman seized hold of her sweetheart's hand, but she could not let go for the paint that her husband had used was a spell to hold them together. They tried to talk and they could not. They set off toward Acoma. They met a man. They ran to him and begged him (in dumb-show) to pull them apart. As soon as he had touched them he stuck to them also. They went on toward Acoma. Whenever they met anyone, this man called out, "Help! Pull me away!" But everyone who touched them was stuck fast. They went on toward Acoma in a long string. The people at Acoma came out and drove them away.

They wandered out across the desert. They came upon old blind Kaupat'a looking for a home. They laid hold of him and he was stuck to them. Wherever they went he had to follow along. When they lay down to sleep they had to lie in a row. They said, "We will go to the village of the katcinas. Perhaps they can pull us apart." When they had come there the katcinas laid hold of them and separated them. The people asked to make their home there but the katcinas said, "No, you are too ugly. Go back into the world. Wherever your voices come back to you (echo) that shall be your home."

Kaupat'a directed them to his home. When they had come into the midst of the black lava there, one of the men shouted at the top of his voice. His voice came back to him and they said, "This is our home." The witch woman changed herself into a deer and all the men began to build homes for themselves. Their footprints are still to be seen in the lava beds.

PAI'YATYA'MO AND YELLOW WOMAN.<sup>1</sup>

The cliff dwellers were living in the north. Among them there were three beautiful sisters who refused every man who came to marry them. Each one brought them presents, but when he had presented them the girls refused, saying, "You did not bring what we wanted."

In the east lived the Pai'yatya'mos.<sup>2</sup> The eldest Pai'yatya'mos was the most beautiful man in the world. His breath was sweet as flowers. He set out to find these three sisters. The other Pai'yatya'mos said, "No. Do not go. They are powerful and they will harm you." He answered, "Yes. I am going. If I do not return in four days look for me." He set out towards the north. He sang his songs (to attract women). He ornamented himself with blossoms. He mixed the petals of all flowers and ground them to powder on a stone. He took the powder in his mouth and spewed it to the north, to the west, to the south, to the east, wherever the sisters might be. He rubbed the powder on the palms of his hands and on his cheeks. He sang a song:

For all's sake I start out. For all's sake I start out.  
I start out this morning from my home looking for women.  
For the sake of any girl, I am travelling.

He sang song after song until he reached the home of the sisters. His songs travelled ahead of him, and as he came closer he saw the sisters climb the ladder to the top of their house, looking in every direction. He came towards their house pretending that he did not see them. The three sisters were glad when they saw Sun Blossom, for everyone all over the country knew him because of his beauty. They said, "We are lonesome for you, Pai'yatya'mo. We have heard of you, but we never saw you before."

<sup>1</sup> Dr. White's version in the forthcoming Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a consistent tale of the final revenge of the Pai'yatya'mos upon the K'o'tcininak<sup>30</sup> sisters. Pai'yatya'mo and his brothers lure the sisters to the water hole and there they drink and fall into a deep sleep, during which all the brothers have intercourse with them. In a Zuni version of this tale the theme is the final humiliation of women who refused lovers. (Benedict, mss.)

<sup>2</sup> Pai'yatya'mo is the Keresan term for youth. The Pai'yatya'mos lived in the east at the sunrise, and were referred to by the interpreter of this tale as Sun Blossoms.



The oldest sister was in love with Pai'yatya'mo. She said to him, "Let us play hide-and-peek." She covered his head with a blanket. She made her tracks everywhere through the cornfields and the garden. She came back and took the form of a little beetle on the ground behind him. She crept under his blanket on his back. She lay there as a heavy weight so as to tire him out. She called to him. Pai'yatya'mo threw off his blanket to look for her. He followed her tracks around the cornfield. The weight of the woman (in the beetle form) tired him out and he gave up. He called out to her to appear, and the beetle dropped off in her own form, close beside him. "Why couldn't you find me?" "I don't know. It's my turn to hide. If you don't find me I will win your heart." He covered her head with the blanket. He made his tracks around the bushes, backwards and forwards. He went up to his father, the Sun, and hid behind the big disk. His father said to him, "This is very dangerous. You must sit without moving for if you move she will see you. At noon I shall stay still in the middle of the sky. You must sit quiet for an hour, for then she can see any move that you make." Pai'yatya'mo called out to the girl. K'o'tcininak'o threw off the blanket and looked for Pai'yatya'mo. She looked everywhere. She drew milk from her breast into a little shell and sat down to look into the milk. She could not find him on earth so at last she looked for him in the sky. The Sun warned Pai'yatya'mo that she was watching, but at last he had to change his position, and he peeped out from one side of the Sun. K'o'tcininak'o saw him and she called out, "I've found you! Come down from the Sun." The Sun was sad and said, "My son, you will have to go to meet K'o'tcininak'o." He came down and as he reached the earth she drew out the flint knife which she always carried and cut off his head. She cut open his body and took out the heart. She took the fluff of the cattail and wrapped it in it and placed it in a pottery jar. This is why mothers to this day will not let their children shout into a pot, for if they do, they will lose their hearts.

As soon as K'o'tcininak'o had taken the heart Pai'yatya'mo fell dead. His blood ran out upon the ground, and from every blood-drop a flower sprang up. His body lay there and was burned by the sun till it was as black as coal. K'o'tcininak'o took the jar that held Sun Blossom's heart and put it on the north wall of her house. On the west wall she hung the great flint arrowhead which he wore around his neck. On the south wall she hung his flute. On the east wall she hung his wrist-guard.<sup>1</sup>

In four days the other Pai'yatya'mo were troubled. They had a pottery jar full of water that showed the north and the south, and the east and the west. They took four hailstones and they sang. First they dropped a yellow hailstone to the north, then a blue hailstone to the west, a red hailstone to the south and a white hailstone to the east. So they called the clouds to look for their leader who had been killed. From

<sup>1</sup> The wrist guard is identified with strength and bravery. All *o'pi* (warriors) wore them, and a child might wear one "to make him strong".

every direction they came with heavy hail and thunder. When they had reached the country of the cliff dwellers, the clouds saw the dead body lying motionless. Flowers were growing all over it and were blossoming. The thunder tore down K'o'tcininak'<sup>o</sup>'s house to take out all the belongings of Pai'yatya'mo that she had hung there. The yellow clouds from the north struck her house on the north wall and flashed the yellow lightning. It threw down the north wall and the three sisters started up, catching hold of the jar that held Pai'yatya'mo's heart. They screamed to one another to throw his heart away. The blue clouds struck with the blue lightning on the west wall. The sisters caught up the flint arrowhead and called to each other to throw it out. The red clouds struck with the red lightning and tore down the south wall. The girls called to each other to throw out the flute. The white clouds struck with the white lightning and tore down the east wall. The sisters called to each other to throw out the wrist-guard. In this way the clouds gathered all those things that belonged to Sun Blossom. From all the directions the lightning struck and hit his dead body to bring him to life once more. K'o'tcininak'<sup>o</sup> sang a song to restore him:

I am calling Pai'yatya'mo to get up,  
To sit up and look north, west, south and east,  
To see from what direction the women are calling him and mourning for him.

Pai'yatya'mo got up. He saw that he was changed. His body was black as coal. He called out "Ha ha!"<sup>1</sup> He took his flute in his hand and put his flint arrowhead around his neck. He put his wrist-guard on his left wrist and started for home, full of shame for what had happened to him. He found the other Pai'yatya'mo very sad. When they saw him they called him Queer Face. They said to him, "We missed you. What happened?" They told him that they would help him. Pai'yatya'mo planned that he would go back and get some things that belonged to the girls and make a charm to overcome them. His companions said, "We will make a little snowbird for you to take. You yourself will be an old man and you will walk with a stick."

So Pai'yatya'mo went back with his snow bird to the home of the three girls. He sang his songs and the snow bird danced and hopped about. It was always picking up hair and string and anything that lay around loose. He sang,

Over in the east at his home  
You think there are all kinds of blossoms.

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<sup>1</sup> Said to be a shout of challenge. "I'll get even with you yet."

Again he sang,

It points toward K'o'tcininak'<sup>o</sup>.  
Her heart and breath I am aiming at,  
To get her heart.

The snow bird picked up all the things that were lying around and he took them back with him. When he had returned home Pai'yatya'mo took the hair and the pieces of thread. He laid them on hot coals and burned them to ashes. He made a magic charm.

He set out again to go to the home of K'o'tcininak'<sup>o</sup>. He took the form of a large butterfly. As he flew along he sang:

Butterfly, fly west.  
The women are running wild after you.  
They call to one another and say, "Let's catch him."

The oldest sister suspected this was not a real butterfly and she cautioned her sisters not to run after him, but they said, "The markings on his wings are beautiful. We want them for a pattern for our pottery." They ran after him. They took off their shawls and threw them after him, but he escaped. They ran after and he led them around the world. They went through sand storms and the hot sun, through thorns and through swarms of bees. For four days they chased the butterfly. At last he flew into some bushes and they could not see him any more. When they got there there was an old man sitting asleep on his coat. They called out to him but he pretended not to hear them. They shook him. He said, "What is it? Who is it? Who is there?" The girls said, "Did you see a butterfly coming this way?" He said, "No. I was fast asleep." "Oh!" the girls said, "We are so thirsty. Where is water that we may drink?" Just then they heard a turtle-dove a long way off, and it said, (in Acoma) "Here's water." The old man answered, "Where the turtle-dove is there is water." The old man led them far away to the water hole and he left them there to die. He sang,

It hurts my feelings and it hurts your feelings, too.  
In the east Pai'yatya'mo lives;  
You women look for me from the west,  
But you do not know where I live.  
It hurts my feelings and your feelings when you find me.

But at last K'o'tcininak'<sup>o</sup> found the home of her Pai'yatya'mo and married him. For this reason, to this day, men are told not to sleep in the houses of their sweethearts if they go to visit them. If they do the girls sing these songs. They cut the boy's hair when he is asleep. They burn it to ashes and make a love charm. In this way the girl gets power over the boy so that no matter how far away he goes he will always be lonesome for her and come back to her.



GREASY BOY RECOVERS HIS WIFE.<sup>1</sup>

Once upon a time Greasy Boy lived north of Acoma with his mother. He was Rainbow's younger brother.

Greasy Boy was a great hunter. Every day before he ate the meal his mother had prepared for him, she climbed the ladder to the roof carrying the jar of food she had prepared. She offered the soup or the stew or whatever she had made to all the directions, to Mountain-Lion, and to Eagle, to the north, the west, the south, and the east. Then she offered it to all the protectors of the hunt. When she came down again, Greasy Boy sat down and ate his meal. Every day he went hunting, and every day he brought home a deer. He gave venison to all the people of Acoma so that all the people loved him.

One day he said to his mother, "Mother, put up a lunch for me that I may go hunting." His mother put up a lunch for him, and he started toward the west. He had never taken lunch with him before. As he sat down to eat, a big rat peeped out of his hole nearby. Greasy Boy always shot everything he saw so he raised his bow to kill the rat. He was pulling on the bow string when the rat said, "My man, don't kill me. I have come a long distance to bring you a message. This morning your brother stole your sweetheart and took her on the rainbow up to his own country." — "Tell me again. If you don't I'll shoot you." — "Rainbow, your brother, has stolen your bride and taken her on the rainbow up to his own country." Greasy Boy believed what Rat had told him, and he was very sorrowful.

Immediately he started back to his home. He did not stop to eat his lunch, and he came to his house empty-handed. His mother said to him, "My son, how is it that you come empty-handed? You never come without bringing venison." He told her what Rat had said to him. She was sad, and said, "Rainbow is always taking women to his own country." Greasy Boy said, "I am going to his country to get my sweetheart." "Yes," his mother said to him, "you two brothers are equal in power. If you can reach his country you may succeed."

Greasy Boy set out to get help. Everybody loved Greasy Boy for he had always given venison to everyone, and they gave him whatever power they had. He came to Spider Woman and asked for help. She said to him, "My grandchild, go to Whirlwind, and ask him to come here on

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<sup>1</sup> Another Acoma version of this tale is included by Dr. Leslie White in his collection in the forthcoming Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology under the title "Kasewat rescues his wife from Flint Bird." Greasy Boy is there called Kasewat and Rainbow is Flint Bird. They are not brothers, as they are in the present version, but when Kasewat reaches the sky Flint Bird's mother warns him against fighting him "because they are brothers". Flint Bird replies, "No, he isn't. He is Kasewat."

the fourth day. Be here at the same time, my grandchild, and I will help you."

On the fourth day Greasy Boy went again to Spider's home. She said to him, "Be ready, and when Whirlwind comes, jump into his very center. Whirlwind will carry you along, and I will let down my basket from the sky. I will carry you up to Rainbow's country in the very center of the Whirlwind." Whirlwind came, and Greasy Boy jumped into its very center. Then Spider Woman lifted them up to heaven in her basket.

They reached the sky country. Spider said, "My grandson, if you need help again, call me at any time, and I will help you." — "Yes, grandmother, I shall not be able to get down again without you." — "I will help you." — "Grandmother, tell me in which direction my brother lives." — "Straight ahead of you, to the south. You will reach his house before sunset. Take these two cigarettes. When Rainbow gives you his, and asks you to smoke, draw these out of your knee and use these instead. The cigarettes your brother will offer you are poison; throw them away and do not smoke them. Also he will challenge you to eat all the food he has set on the table. Gopher will be there to help you; right beside you he will dig a hole. Put all the food he offers you down that hole, but the last plate that is brought in, you may eat; that will be good food." I know everything that will happen to you, my grandson, and it will be better if I go with you." — "All right."

They went on together to his brother's house. Spider found a house for herself and Greasy Boy, and she explained to him everything he should do when he met his brother. She stayed at home making him a suit of clothes. It looked just like the suit of arrowheads<sup>1</sup> that Rainbow wears but she made it all of pitch.

Greasy Boy came to his brother's house. "How do you do, my brother?" he said to him. He greeted him as a friend. But Rainbow said to him angrily, "What is it you want?" When Greasy Boy saw that his brother was angry, right away he told him why he had come. "I have come to get my wife." — "Have I got your wife?" Rainbow said. "Come in and pick her out." He had stolen so many women he did not know which one was his brother's sweetheart.

Rainbow called all his women together. "Set the table for your husband," he said to them, "let me know when you are ready." Greasy Boy and his brother sat and talked together till the wives had prepared the food. Then Rainbow said to his visitor, "Sit down and eat. If you eat it all up, you can take your wife." There was food enough on the table for twenty men. "All right." Greasy Boy sat down to eat, and Rainbow left him to finish his task. He shovelled all the food into the hole Gopher had dug just beside him. The women kept pushing the food toward him; they had a jolly time with him, and Rainbow was jealous

<sup>1</sup> Compare the name "Flint Man" for the hero of this story in White's Acoma version.

when he heard the women laughing and enjoying themselves. Just as Greasy Boy tipped the last plate of food into the gopher hole, Rainbow came back. Gopher had just closed up the hole. "Eat more," he said to his brother. "Yes, if you'll bring me another plate of food," Greasy Boy answered him. "Bring this pig the best plate of food I've got," Rainbow yelled. The women brought in another plate and Rainbow sat and watched his brother eat.

He finished, and Rainbow said to him, "Let us smoke." He gave him a cigarette. Immediately Greasy Boy drew out one of those he carried in his knee and exchanged it for the one Rainbow had given him. They smoked. "Now may I take my wife?" Greasy Boy asked. "No, not till you have hoed the whole patch of my corn." "All right," said Greasy Boy, "I'll be here in four days to hoe your corn."

Greasy Boy went back to Spider Woman. She said to him, "Well, grandson, did you come home?" — "Yes, grandmother." — "What did your brother say to you? What did he do?" — "He gave me lots of food to eat. I found the gopher hole as you told me and I shovelled all the food into it. At last I got my supper. Four days from now he will make me hoe his cornpatch. It is a great cornfield. I do not know how I shall finish it in one day." — "Be easy about that, my grandson. We will call together the gophers and the field mice, and I will get all the spiders, and with their help you will finish hoeing his cornfield in one day."

The fourth day came. Greasy Boy and his grandmother were up early. She said to him, "The gophers, the field mice, and the spiders are working at the cornfield already. When you get there, pretend to be hard at work, and by the time Rainbow's wives bring you your dinner, it will be all done. They will bring just as much food as they did before. Do not eat any of it except the food in the jar that your own wife has brought. When they call you to eat, say to your brother, 'Go and look over my field and see if any weeds are left.' Then you will see a badger hole beside you; shovel all the food into the hole that Badger has dug, but set to one side the jar of good food that your wife has brought. When your brother returns, let him watch you eat that last jar of food."

Greasy Boy made ready to go. Spider brought out the suit of pitch that she had made, and a stool of pitch that looked just like Rainbow's stool of ice. She said to him, "Take these with you. Wear the suit of pitch and carry the stool, and when you get to Rainbow's house it will still be early, and he will not be up. Put this stool in place of his stool, and change the suit you have on for the one he has. He will challenge you to another contest but by this suit and this stool you will overcome him." He embraced his grandmother and set out for the house of his brother.

"How do you do, my brother," he said to him (a friendly greeting). But his brother spoke angrily and said, "Why did you come so early?" He was still in bed. "Are you ready to go to work?" — "Yes, sir." — "That's good. I suppose you think you can hoe fifty patches all by



yourself in one day?" — "It sounds like a great deal," said Greasy Boy, "but it will seem easy to me if I can have my wife." While they were talking, Greasy Boy had exchanged the suit he had on for the one of arrow heads that Rainbow always wore, the stool of pitch for the stool of ice, and the weapons he had brought for the ones that belonged to Rainbow. He was very happy for he knew he would overcome Rainbow.

Greasy Boy went down to the corn fields. All the time he was working he was singing his strong songs. He sang at the top of his voice:

*"Halaina, halaina, hala ina ina, ina,  
It used to be that we lived near Acoma, to the north."*

Then he sang too,

*"You call me skinny boy,  
All the women call me that. A h i i i."*

All the time the gophers, the mice, and the woodrats were cutting down the weeds, and the spiders were dragging them away. At last there was only one patch left. Just then he saw the line of women bringing dinner across the fields, his brother in the lead of them all. Rainbow called to him, "Come eat." It looked as if only half of the field had been hoed. "Wait a minute," Greasy Boy called back. "Only a few more weeds and I'll be through." "Oho," called back Rainbow, "you can never finish all that." Just then Greasy Boy gave a shout and threw the last weed up in the air (a sign that he had finished) "Ugh," his brother said angrily, "that fellow has finished already."

Just as Greasy Boy came to the place where the women were they were setting down the jars of food they had brought. There were a great many women but it was easy for him to tell which his wife was for she was last in the line. He had just time to notice which jar of food was the one which she had brought. "Are you through then?" his brother said to him. "Yes," he said, "Go and see if all the weeds are cleared away." "All right," said Rainbow, "while I look over the field, eat all the food that the women have brought or I will cut off your head for you."

Rainbow and his wives went off to look over the field. They found all the weeds cleared away. As soon as they had gone Greasy Boy shovelled the food into the hole that badger had dug close beside him. He had just tipped in the last plate, and was eating the food his own wife had brought when his brother came back. "You greasy pig," he said to him, "did you eat all that food?" "Of course," Greasy Boy answered. "If I slept all day the way you do, I wouldn't be hungry. I worked hard so I was hungry." Greasy Boy finished his dinner. He got up and said to Rainbow, "Now can I take my wife?" "No," his brother answered. "Four days from now you must dig a hole in the ground for the green-corn roasting pit. I want

it big enough to hold a whole winter's supply. In one day you must gather corn enough to last me all winter, dig the roasting hole to hold it all, and fetch the wood for the roasting."<sup>1</sup> "All right," answered Greasy Boy, "I'll be here in four days. Will you show me where I shall dig the hole?" Rainbow took him to a rocky place and said, "Right here where the ground is hard." Greasy Boy went back to his grandmother. She was very glad to see him wearing the arrow-head suit of his brother's. "Well, my grandson, what happened to you?" "Everything went smoothly. It was just as you said. Nevertheless, I must go again. He ordered me to prepare the pit for his green corn, gather the corn and fetch the wood." "We will manage that, my grandson." She called together all those who chop wood, all those who dig holes, and asked for their help. The badgers and the gophers worked digging a great pit in the place that Rainbow had chosen. They dug it out to a great depth and left only a thin crust of earth on top for Greasy Boy to clear away.

The fourth day Greasy Boy and his grandmother were up early. He went to his brother's house and greeted him pleasantly. "What did you come so early for?" Rainbow called angrily. This time Greasy Boy spoke angrily too. "Are you still in bed? Get up. It's time to get to work." "All right. Go ahead and begin digging that hole. By evening have the corn ready to put in and I'll be there to help you put it in the pit."

Greasy Boy took his digging stick and went off to the place where he was to dig the hole. He was happy for he knew he had on the suit that would cause him to overcome his brother. First of all he brought the wood together. Then he began clearing off the crust of earth over the hole. By noon he was taking the last dirt out of the hole. Just then he saw all the women bringing his dinner to him, with Rainbow at the head of the line. They came. They looked down into the hole. It was three men's height and one man's length across. "Well, come out and eat." — "Yes, it's very hot down here." They pulled him up out of the hole.

Greasy Boy sat down to eat all the food the women had brought him. The women liked him. They laughed and joked with him, and he showed them how he wasn't greedy, how he put all the food down the gopher hole. They helped him pick out the poisonous food and get rid of it in the hole, and they selected the good food for him to eat. When Rainbow heard them laughing and joking he was more jealous than ever.

When Greasy Boy had finished, Rainbow said to him, "I suppose you think you can finish today." — "Oh yes." — "What time will you be ready?" — "Just before sunset." They all went back and left him to finish his work. Greasy Boy brought in the corn. All the afternoon he worked. The oven was red hot, and all the corn was heaped ready when

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<sup>1</sup> When the green corn is ready it is the custom to dig a large hole, line it with stones and burn a great pile of wood in it till the walls are well heated. The fire is raked out and corn with its husks on put down to roast for a whole night.

he saw Rainbow coming with his wives. Greasy Boy was throwing in the corn. His brother stepped up to him crowding him to the mouth of the pit. He was hurrying him so that his brother would not see what he was up to. Just as he threw in the last handful, Rainbow pushed the boy into the oven to roast with the corn. Right away he closed the opening with a big stone. They could hear him singing his strong song in the pit. Rainbow said, "We will go home. That's the end of his life. He'll stop singing after a while." They left him to roast all night.

Early next morning they went down, the women in a line with Rainbow in the lead, to see if the corn was roasted and Greasy Boy brown on the top of the pile. But Badger had dug a hole for him in the side of the pit, and he had been safe all night. As soon as he heard them pounding at the stone that closed the mouth of the pit, he crept out from his refuge. Badger was with him to close up the hole before it could be discovered. As soon as Rainbow had pried up the stone, up jumped Greasy Boy. "It's nice and warm in there," he said. "This time I'm going to take my wife." Rainbow Brother was very angry to find him still alive. "No," he said, "we must show her our powers. In four days we will have a contest in this little Rainbow village. The war chief will have wood stacked in two separate piles and he will prepare them so that they will burn fiercely. I will stand on top of my pile and you on top of your pile, and we will fight with our long flint knives." — "Very well. In four days I will come again."

For four days the war chief had wood brought into the village and piled in two separate piles in the center of the village. Greasy Boy went about saying goodby to everybody who knew him. All the people loved him for he was always good-natured and generous, and they hoped that Rainbow would be killed for he was cruel and sulky.

The fourth day Greasy Boy was up early, running as if he were practicing for a footrace, and singing his strong songs. But Rainbow Brother was gloomy. When everything was ready Greasy Boy got onto his pile and Rainbow onto his. They set down their stools and sat down on the top of the wood. Then the girl they were fighting for set fire to the pyres; first she lit Greasy Boy's and then Rainbow's. They both began to burn fiercely. Greasy Boy's had been lit first so he began first to sing his strong songs that told his name and where he lived. Rainbow Brother was angry and jealous and he took his flint knife and threw it at his head. As soon as it was touched by the heat of the flames it broke in two (it was pitch) and fell useless. Greasy Boy raised his knife and threw it at his brother. It cut his head off, and, the pitch of his stool burning up around him, he was burned to ashes. But Greasy Boy's stool, as the fire touched it, melted, for it was made of ice, and the water pouring down put out the fire.

Then Greasy Boy dismissed all the women his brother had stolen and told them to go to their own homes. He took his own wife and started



back to Acoma. Spider let them down in her basket from Rainbow Village.

But Rainbow, when his body was burned, had stirred up the Storm Clouds against Greasy Boy. He and his wife had no sooner reached the earth in Spider Woman's basket than they saw that the Storm Clouds had almost overtaken them. They ran as fast as they could, but the lightning was upon them. They came to the river and hail was falling all about them. All that were with Greasy Boy dug a hole in the floating hail<sup>1</sup> of the river. Rainbow Brother struck with the yellow lightning of the north, and it almost hit Greasy Boy. He struck with the blue lightning of the west, and it just blinded the eyes of Greasy Boy. He struck with the red lightning of the south, and it was far enough away so that their eyes were not dazzled. He struck with the white lightning of the east, and it was so far away they hardly saw it at all. They knew they were safe, and they reached home.

If Greasy Boy<sup>2</sup> hadn't killed his Brother Rainbow, nowadays he'd be stealing your wife.

#### THE WINDOWS OF THE FOX.

In the beginning the trees touched each other in the forest and all the birds sang the same songs and the animals were all of one family. Each was appointed to separate over the earth and to each was given his own work. The birds were appointed to carry the seeds to drop over the earth, and to sing to make people happy in the morning and the evening. The rat and the bear and the squirrel were appointed to stow grain and nuts so that there would always be food. The woodchuck and gopher were appointed to make valleys to let air and sun into the earth. Butterflies were appointed to lead children home when they wandered away, and homes for the eagles in the highest rocks that they might watch for enemies and warn of coming danger. But to the deer and the rabbit were given the hardest task: to furnish food for the animals by giving up their own lives.

One day the clouds gathered from all directions and met over the great plain. Lightning flashed and blinded the animals, and when the storm was over, in the middle of the plain, they saw a man standing. He was red like baked clay. The animals said to each other, "What is that?" The man shook his fists at the clouds and they hurried away across the sky. The animals came close and formed a wall around him. They gave strange cries, but he did not move. They said, "We will set a guard and watch him by turns." They appointed the bear. When night came the

<sup>1</sup> Lightning will never strike anything that is round and smooth. The picture seems to be of raking out the floating hail from the river and covering themselves with it for protection.

<sup>2</sup> "Greasy Boy appears in the November ceremony Tsaputin."

snow began to fall. The bear looked at the man and saw that he had lain down to sleep. Bear went off to his winter cave and did not return until the spring. In the daytime the man walked about and studied the foot-prints of the animals. He watched them kill a deer and eat it. He also killed a deer and grew fat. He followed the squirrels and stole their nuts so that the animals were often hungry. He put the skin of the deer on his back and made himself warm at night. The mountain lion screamed at him from the trees but Man laughed at him and scared him away.

At last Man wanted a wife. He took slabs of stone and set them up in a line so that the animals could not see him. He took yellow flowers and painted pictures on the stones. He took cactus flowers and painted purple pictures on them. He took green stone and ground it together. He made green paint and painted green faces on them. He took white clay, and black charcoal from the fire, and painted them black and white. He went to a tree that had been struck by lightning and got fire. He carried it to a hole that he had dug before his altar.

Eagle came to see what he was doing. The man choked him, took out his tail feathers and put them in his hair. He gathered pollen from the flowers. He filled his mouth with the pollen and spewed it out into the wind, to the north, to the west, to the south and to the east. A sweet odor filled the air. He fasted for four days. On the fourth day he took an ear of corn. He gathered up the feathers that were scattered on the plain and bound them around the corn ear with the fiber of the soap-weed leaf. When it was finished he wrapped the ear of corn in deer skin and set it up at the foot of his altar. He lay down and fell into a deep sleep. When he awoke there was a woman at his side. She said, "I have come from the north where the white lights rise straight up into the sky. I am White Light Woman." They went together to his house in the cliffs.

White Light Woman used her power to call the animals. She called the wild turkeys and the man killed them for their food. She called the deer, and they came and were killed. Whenever she used her power she made the man cover his head with the blanket so that he could not see what she did. She made him dance after every rite, and she laughed at him because of his dancing.

The animals were afraid because she hung their skins on the man and on herself, and stuck the feathers of the birds in their hair. They tried to spy on her, to see her power, but whenever anyone came near she knew; she called him into her magic circle and killed him. The animals and birds called a council. They sent Owl to spy on her. Owl went, but the sun shone on his big eyes and blinded him and the woman choked him. They sent Prairiedog, but when he peeped out of his hole the woman saw him, and she sent Rattlesnake to live with him and warn her of his approach. They sent Horned Toad. He hopped to the edge of the cliff and lay flat on a stone and spied on her. She used her power and he fell off and was killed.

At last Fox went. He saw a dead deer lying on the plain. He waited for a storm, and when all the animals were in their dens, Fox crept inside the ribs of the deer. He could look out plainly. He lived on the deer meat and the storm covered his tracks. On the fourth day of the storm, White Light Woman came from her home in the cliffs. She brought with her strips of fur from all the different animals, and feathers from all the different birds, and laid them in front of the altar. She took a flint arrow-head from her neck and drew it four times across the fur of the deer and the feathers of the eagle. The nearest deer felt her power and was drawn down closer and closer until the man shot him with his arrow. She drew her flint arrow-head over the eagle feathers, and the nearest eagle felt her power and circled nearer and nearer until Man shot him with his arrow. In this way Fox learned the secret of her power. He called the animals and the birds together and he told them White Light Woman's power. He said, "When you feel her power, run with all your might in the opposite direction and eat the pollen of all the flowers nearby." So they spoiled White Light Woman's magic. After that Man had to hunt animals by following their tracks through the woods and across the plains. This is why the ribs of the deer are called "the windows of the fox." And for this reason, when we dance, we hang a fox skin at our belts or put it on our war-poles, to mean that we are wiser than the fox because we wear his skin.

#### THE FLAMING HORSE.

A man had eleven sons and he said to them, "Seven suns from today I shall divide my property among you." The youngest son was stupid. He went to his oldest brother and he said, "When is seven suns, and from where does he come?" "Seven suns is coming from the east." The youngest brother did not want his oldest brother to see that he did not understand, so he said, "I am going out to meet him. When our father divides his property, take charge of my share until I return."

The youngest son started out on his trip. He went to the east. On his way he met Chief Barefoot. He asked the boy where he was going. "I am going to meet Seven Suns." "Well, in six more suns it will be here. It is coming right down this road. Why do you want to find this Seven Suns?" "My father is to divide his property in seven suns and I am going to meet it. I could not wait for it and I am on the road." Chief Barefoot wished him good luck and they went on.

They met another man, who asked him where he was going. "I am on my way to meet Seven Suns." — "Why do you want to meet this Seven Suns?" — "My father is to divide his property in seven suns and I am going to meet it." They told each other goodbye and the boy went on. He travelled for a long time.



He came to Chief Cloud. Chief Cloud had a daughter, Yellow Corn. All the men came to present themselves to be chosen as a husband for his daughter. Yellow Corn did not choose any of them. She turned them all away. Chief Black Cloud was tired of this, and he said to his daughter, "You have turned away too many men. The next man who comes, whether he is rich or poor, wise or foolish, you must marry him." The next man who came to Chief Black Cloud's was the youngest son. The Chief said to him, "Would you like to marry my daughter?" "I was looking for a job. Is that the job you have for me? Yes, I can marry your daughter." "All right, we'll see what my daughter says." They went into the house and called his daughter. All the Chief's men were there, and Chief Black Cloud said to them, "This is the husband for my daughter." His daughter said, "Yes, I will marry him if he will answer three questions." The Chief's men said, "Yes, he shall answer three questions."

The Chief's daughter asked him the first question. She said, "Where is the beginning of the fountain (i. e. of its basin) and where is its end?" The boy answered and said, "That is a hard question. Let me think today and tonight, and in the morning I will answer your question." The council agreed and they separated until the morning. The boy paid no attention to the question that he had to answer. When night came they told him to take his blankets and go on the roof to sleep. They did not ask him to stay in the neat, clean rooms of the house. He climbed the ladder and went to sleep. He slept all night. Toward morning he awoke and he heard a large and a small bird talking on the edge of the roof. The larger bird said, "That is not a hard question. The fountain is a circle. The starting place is the ending place, and that is all there is to it."

The boy got out of his blankets and climbed down the ladder. He washed his face and hands and got ready for breakfast. They ate breakfast and the council was called together. They met in the council room. They said, "Can you answer the question: 'Where is the beginning of the fountain and where is its end?'" The boy gave the answer he had learned from the birds. So the question was answered and the Chief's daughter asked him the second question: "When the Chief's wife, my mother, died, where was she buried, and when the Chief wept at the grave, which eye dropped the first tear?" The boy said, "This is a hard question. Let me think today and tonight, and in the morning I shall answer." The council agreed and they separated until the morning.

All day the boy worked around the place. At night they told him to take his blankets and sleep on the roof. He climbed the ladder and slept all night. He did not think of the question once. Early in the morning the boy woke, and he heard the large and the small bird talking on the edge of the roof. The big bird said, "It is a hard question because the boy did not see where the Chief's wife was buried. It was in the right-hand corner of this house under the foundation, and when the Chief wept, it was his right eye dropped the first tear."

The boy got out of his blankets and climbed down the ladder. He washed and they ate breakfast. The council met in the council room. They said, "Can you answer the second question: 'Where was the Chief's wife buried and when the Chief wept, which eye dropped the first tear?'" The boy answered, "The Chief's wife was buried at the right-hand corner of this house under the foundation, and when the Chief wept it was his right eye dropped the first tear." So the second question was answered, and the Chief's daughter said, "You have answered two questions. The third question is to find my youngest sister and to bring her home." The boy said, "Let me have today and tonight, and in the morning I will answer." He did not think once of the question and at night he took his blankets and went up onto the roof to sleep. He slept till morning, and when he woke he heard the birds talking on the edge of the roof. The large bird said, "It is a hard thing to find the Chief's younger daughter. A giant stole her. He lives a long way off in the caves in the mountain. Anyone who brings her back will need a fast horse and a big horse. This boy has eleven horses but they are all small. It will take at least a year for them to grow large enough and to learn to run fast enough."

They boy took his blankets and climbed down the ladder. He washed and they ate breakfast. The council met in the council room. They said, "Can you answer the third question?" He said, "The youngest sister was carried off by a giant who keeps her in his den. Anyone who brings her back will need a fast horse and a big horse." The Chief said, "Have you such a horse?" "I don't know. I shall have to go home and see."

The boy left the Chief's home. He travelled for a week and came to his own home. His father was dead and buried and his oldest brother had held the boy's share until he returned. The youngest son's share was eleven mares and one stallion. The boy went out to see them. All the mares had little colts. He called the stallion Demon.

He was very large. He came up to the boy and said to him, "I am not large enough this year. Do what I tell you, and by next year I shall be large enough. Kill all the colts. Cut their heads off so that I can drink their blood. Then I shall grow large. On this very day come back again next year." The boy did as he was told. He went back to his brothers and told them he would be back again in a year.

He returned to Chief Black Cloud's and he worked there for a year. The Chief said to him, "Have you found your horse?" The boy answered, "Yes. I have found the horse but it is not large enough to fetch your daughter. In another year he will be full grown." The boy worked for Chief Black Cloud for a year. At the end of that time he went back to his home. He said to his brothers, "I am going to give each of you one of the mares but the stallion I will keep." He went up to where they were pastured. Each mare had a new colt. The stallion told him to kill these colts also so that he could drink of the blood. He did so. Then the

stallion told him to ask of his brothers a saddle and a bridle and a saddle-blanket. His brothers were glad to give him these in exchange for the mares.

The youngest son went back to Chief Black Cloud's and worked for another year. When the time had passed he returned to his home. The stallion was now full grown. He was so large the boy could stand up under him. He had the blacksmith fit shoes for the horse and the saddle-maker fit a saddle and bridle for him. When he was furnished with everything he needed, he mounted the stallion and rode to Chief Black Cloud's. He stabled his horse. The Demon was so large and dangerous that he had to order the Chief's men to take all their horses out of the stable.

The boy said to the Chief, "I am ready to go to get your daughter, Little Flower." The Chief was glad and asked him to start at once. Next day the youngest son mounted his horse and went in search of Little Flower. The stallion knew where the giant's home was, and he galloped off. He shook the earth, and dust and rocks flew behind his heels. When they had gone half way, the Demon stopped and told the boy what he should do. He was to ride into the den as fast as he could. The stallion was to stop only long enough for the boy to pick Little Flower up and ride away again out of reach of the giant.

In the afternoon they reached the giant's cave. They rode in as far as they could. Little Flower was among many other women who had been captured by the giant. The boy set her on the back of the Demon and they rode out of the cave like lightning. Behind the Demon's hoofs immense rocks fell and blocked the way of the giant.

That evening they arrived at Chief Black Cloud's. They welcomed the sister and had a great feast next day. People said it was the wedding feast, but Yellow Corn would not marry him until he had found a horse for her that would be the equal of his stallion. She wanted to ride a horse just like his.

There was no horse on earth like the Demon, but in the underworld was the Flaming Horse. The Demon told the boy to ask for two large boxes to place on either side of the saddle, two sacks of pitch, two bags of flint arrow points, half a deer's carcass, a bale of deer's hides, and a sack of oats, wheat and corn. "Tell the Chief you must go far away to get the Flaming Horse and you need these for your food." The boy went to the Chief and told him what he needed. "If you will give me these things, I will go at once and bring the other horse for your daughter." The Chief gave him all that he needed. The next day the boy got ready. He saddled his horse and started on his trip. Everyone watched him as he started out.

He travelled a long way until he came to the entrance of the underworld. It was in the side of a mountain. His horse spoke to him and said, "There are birds guarding this horse, and they bring him warning if anyone comes. When you see them, scatter the grain on each side so



that the birds will be busy picking it up. They will forget to fly back with the message. Beyond that there are lions and bears and wolves that guard his den. When you come to them take the meat that you carry and throw off small pieces. Every now and then, throw off a sheep's hide for the animals to feast on. When you have passed these animals, we shall be safe. I will give a loud whinny and the Flaming Horse will answer me."

They heard a sound like a great wind. The boy saw that it was the birds that were coming. He scattered grain on either side and the birds stopped to eat the grain. They went on and came to the wild animals. The horse did not stop. The boy threw pieces of meat and sheep's hide so that the wild beasts ate these and the boy and the horse passed through unharmed. They travelled all night. In the morning the horse whinnied but there was no answer except Echo. They went on again. The Demon stopped and whinnied a second time. They heard a very faint answer. The Demon said to the boy, "We will go on a little farther and I will tell you where to stop. At that place get off and take the bags of flint and the pitch. Spread the pitch around me in a large circle and scatter the flint thickly over it. Take off my bridle, and hide yourself, so that the Flaming Horse will not see you. When he comes, the battle will take place inside the circle of pitch. From my nostrils I will blow my flame twice toward the circle of pitch. If the second time the pitch does not ignite, the Flaming Horse will kill us both. If it catches fire he will call out. Then you will take this bridle and slip it over his head and he will be gentle enough to handle. He is as large as I am, and no one can tell us apart."

The answers of the Flaming Horse came closer and closer. The Demon told the boy to make the circle of pitch and flint around him. He grazed inside of the circle. The Flaming Horse came like the wind, kicking and rearing on his hind legs. He dashed into the circle and the two horses fought there. The Demon blew fire from his nostrils but the pitch did not ignite. A second time he blew fire from his nostrils and the flame rose in a circle around the two horses. The Flaming Horse called out in sign that he was overcome. The boy came up and put the bridle upon him. The Flaming Horse said to him, "I have a master now. I will do whatever you say and I will go with you gladly."

The boy mounted the Flaming Horse and started back to Chief Black Cloud. The two stallions were exactly alike. No one could tell them apart. They travelled for a day and a night and they reached the house of the Chief. Everyone came out to look at the beautiful pair of horses. The Chief made another stable for the Flaming Horse, and he said to his daughter, "Are you willing now to marry this boy?" Yellow Corn answered, "No, not yet. I will play hide-and-seek with him and if I can't find him when he hides twice, I will marry him."

They played hide-and-seek. Yellow Corn went to hide. They covered

the boy's head and Yellow Corn made tracks all over the pasture and the corn fields and the gardens and in the orchards and then into the house. She called him. The boy followed her tracks but he could not find her. He went to his horses. He said to them, "I am playing hide-and-seek to marry the Chief's daughter. Tell me where she is hidden." Flaming Horse said to him, "Go and get a bow and arrow from one of the Chief's men. Take it to the shore of the lake and shoot at the beautiful swan that you see there." The boy did what the horse told them. He asked one of the Chief's men for his bow and arrows and went out to the lake. He called out, "I am going to shoot that beautiful swan for my dinner." Immediately the Chief's daughter hopped out of the water and said, "Don't shoot me!" The boy said, "All right, you may hide again." They covered the boy's head and the girl made her tracks all over the pasture and the corn fields and the orchards and then into the house. The second time the boy followed her trail but he could not find her. He went to his horses. The Demon said to him, "Go into the kitchen. On the table you will see four loaves of bread. Pick up the second loaf from the south. Take a knife and sharpen it and while you are whetting it say, 'I am going to have a slice of fine bread.'" The boy went into the house and into the kitchen. He said, "I wonder where that girl went. I'm getting hungry." He picked up a knife and a stone to sharpen it on. When it was very sharp he picked up the second loaf of bread from the south end of the table, and he said, "I am going to have a slice of fine bread." Just then, the girl jumped out of the loaf of bread in his hands.

It was his turn to hide. He made his tracks in and out of the fields and went to the Demon. "Can you hide me so that the Chief's daughter cannot find me?" The Demon turned the boy into a fly and the fly flew into the nostrils of the horse. He called the girl. The fly was so small that his voice sounded very far away. The girl hunted a long time and could not find him. At last she went to the stable where the horses were. She said, "I think that fellow is in here somewhere." She was afraid to go near the horses because they were dangerous.

She gave up. The boy came out of the stable and said, "All right. Once more." They covered the girl's head and the boy made his tracks in and out of the field. He went to his horses, and the Flaming Horse hid the boy under his front hoof. He called to the girl. She hunted for him everywhere. At last she went to the stable. The horses were standing very quietly and she examined the stable and the horses. Because they were so gentle she thought the boy was not there and she named him Arrowhead Boy. She called, "I can't find you. Come out." She was still standing by the horse. The boy spoke and said, "Here I am. Are you willing to marry me?" She answered, "Yes." Yellow Corn chose the Flaming Horse, and Arrowhead Boy chose the Demon.

Next morning the council met in the council room. The Chief's daughter and Arrowhead Boy set the wedding day in four days. They had a great

feast, and made a fine saddle and bridle for the Flaming Horse. The two married each other by riding their horses around the village.

#### CAREFUL BURDEN CARRIER.

In the north a man set out to travel across the country. He was looking for some way to earn his living. He carried his bedding on his back. As he was travelling he saw a man ahead of him running zigzag back and forth as if he were chasing something. He said to himself, "What can he be doing there? I will go up and see if he is crazy." He saw that the runner was following a jackrabbit. When he came up to where the man was, he said to him, "What are you doing?" "I'll show you what I can do. This is my power. I can run down the jackrabbit." He let the jackrabbit go and chased him. He caught him and came back. The other said to him, "Where are you going?" He said, "I am looking for a living." — "What shall I call you?" — "My name is Careful Burden Carrier." The other answered. "My name is Careful Runner." Careful Runner said to Careful Burden Carrier, "I will go with you to look for a job." "All right. Crawl up onto my pack and I will carry you." Careful Runner climbed onto the pack of Careful Burden Carrier and they went on.

Late in the afternoon they saw a man on his hands and knees. They wondered what he was doing, and they said to one another, "What is the matter with that fellow?" They came up to him and said, "What are you doing on your hands and knees?" He said, "I am blowing to start the cyclone." "What is your name?" "My name is Careful Blower." He said to them, "What is your name?" "My name is Careful Runner." "My name is Careful Burden Carrier." Careful Blower said to them, "Where are you going?" "We are on our way to look for a job." Careful Blower said, "I will go with you." Careful Burden Carrier answered, "All right. Crawl up onto my pack and I will carry you." Careful Blower crawled up onto his pack and they went on.

Next day they saw another man. He had a bow and arrow, and they said to him, "What are you doing?" He said, "I am shooting at a deer." The three travellers said, "We can't see any deer." — "No, you can't see him. My bow and arrows are very powerful, and I can see a long distance. The deer is in the next canyon beyond us." — "Let's see you shoot." He pulled on his bow and told them that the next day they would eat their dinner of the deer he had shot. They said to him, "What is your name?" He said, "Call me Careful Seer. What is your name?" — "My name is Careful Runner." — "My name is Careful Burden Carrier." — "My name is Careful Blower." Careful Seer said, "I will go with you." "All right. Climb up onto my pack and I will carry you." He climbed up onto the pack of Careful Burden Carrier and they went on.

Next day they arrived at the place where the deer had been shot. They feasted there. When they went on they saw another man on his hands and knees. They said to him, "What are you doing?" He said, "I am



listening along the ground so that I can hear the news." — "What is your name?" — "My name is Careful Listener. What is your name?" — "My name is Careful Seer." — "My name is Careful Blower." — "My name is Careful Runner." — "My name is Careful Burden Carrier." Careful Listener said to them, "Where are you going?" "We are going to look for a job." — "I will go with you." — "All right, climb up onto my pack and I will carry you." Careful Listener said, "I know of a job about a day's travel from here." — "What is it?" — "It is a foot-race with the chief's daughter." They said to him, "What chief?" — "Half-Moon Chief." — "All right. Before we get there we will camp and you shall listen there and find out all about the race." Careful Listener climbed up on the back of Careful Burden Carrier and they went on their way to Half-Moon Chief.

When they had come close to his home they camped for the night. Careful Listener put his ear to the ground and listened to learn about the race. Chief Half-Moon had a daughter whose name was White Deer and all the men were to race with her. If they lost, they lost their heads. But if White Deer lost the men won all her father's possessions that they could carry off in one load.

They went on to Half-Moon Chief's. Half-Moon Chief greeted them as strangers and appointed the race in four days. The travelers chose Careful Runner to run with White Deer. The race course was six miles long, and it was a circle. At the far end there was a statue. The runners who challenged White Deer ran in advance until they came to the statue and after they had passed it they fell behind. The statue belonged to White Deer. It was carved from lava rock, and before she began to race, White Deer put corn and pollen in the hands of the statue.

On the day of the race the people gathered along the race course. Early in the morning Careful Listener put his ear to the ground. He heard the gophers talking. One gopher said to another, "White Deer's statue will overcome Careful Runner. She puts cornmeal and pollen on its hands and it blows upon the pollen to choke the breath of Careful Runner." "Thank you," said Careful Listener, and he went to the travellers and told them.

They began the race. White Deer ran fast but Careful Runner passed her and came to the statue. Just before he reached it, Careful Shooter drew his bow and shot at the heart of the statue. When the arrow stuck in the lava rock, White Deer fell down overcome, and Careful Runner won the race. So the travellers won all the goods of Half-Moon Chief that they could carry off in one load. The Chief brought a wagon-load of goods, but Careful Burden Carrier rocked it with one hand and said it was too light. The Chief's men brought wagon after wagon and loaded them with sheep and cows and blankets and everything the Chief possessed except his land. His land they could not take away. When they had brought together all of Half-Moon's property, the rest of the travellers

climbed on top of the wagons and Careful Burden Carrier hauled off the whole load.

They had gone only a little way when White Deer died. The chief was angry and sent his men to attack the travellers. They took the war path after them. The travellers heard them coming behind them giving their war whoops. Careful Blower was the only one who had not helped to overcome Half-Moon Chief. They appointed him. He went to a hill of sand and blew a cyclone against them. They were overcome, and that is the way the first traveller<sup>1</sup> got rich.

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<sup>1</sup> Or. hobo.

NAVAJO ORIGIN LEGEND.<sup>1</sup>

BY A. M. STEPHEN.

The first (lowest) world was red, bare, barren ground, this was the earliest world. Etséhostin and Etséasun, his wife, existed there and they had nothing to eat till the fourth day, and on this day they began to think of eating. Hostjaishjiné stood up and rubbed his belly and some skin (*bitcin*) was loosened which formed in a roll under his hands and he laid this roll of cuticle on the ground. The woman stood up and followed his example. Then they each trampled on the rolls. Etséhostin reached over his shoulder, down his back, and formed another roll and laid it on the ground. The two rolls that he had formed turned into a man with a mask. This new-formed man stood up, and this is the origin of the first man (Navajo?). Etséasun again followed the *hostin's* example and from the rolls which she formed a woman arose: this was the virgin called Djosdelhazhy (biting vagina). The *hostin* (old man) then reached under his left arm and formed another roll of skin which he laid on the ground and it became (a water monster called) Téholtsody. The *hostin* then reached under his right arm and formed another roll of skin which, being laid upon the ground, became Usheenasun, Salt spirit, a woman who now lives at Nitcō (Salt Lake south of Zuñi).

Hostin then took the end of his tongue between his fingers and spat out a little piece of it (his tongue? spittle?) upon the ground before him and it became a wing which he placed upon his ear. The wind would shake this wing and tell everything in his ear. Etséasun then took a roll of skin from her scalp and laid it on the ground and placed a little feather beside it and this became the Thunder (with wings). On the left side the feathers were black on top and white underneath, on the right side the feathers were white above and black below. Etséhostin then rubbed the sole of his right foot and the roll of skin became a large frog, Tcalc. He rubbed the sole of his left foot, and a crane, Teklaliale was formed. This makes altogether twelve personages up to this time.

Etsehostin began thinking, "How can we get something to eat?" Etseasun said, "My husband, I know not." Hostin looked back and saw Hostjaishjiné and said to him, "You understand these things, tell us how we are to get food." Hostjaishjiné, who always looks stern and grim and angry, said, "I do not know," but he reached down on his neck and rolled a little skin in his hand and Wunushtcindy (locust?) was

<sup>1</sup> This version of the Navajo origin myth was taken down from a Navajo priest whose name Stephen writes as Guisheen Bige, at Keam's Canyon, August 5, 1885. It has been transcribed by Olive Bushnell. The account begins: "I have no book, we have nothing of writing, but in my memory are many things strange to the Americans. I wish to tell you of things as they began."



produced. Then Etseasun looked far back and saw Nastjeasun and asked her how they could get something to eat. Nastjeasun rolled a little skin upon her breast and it became Ant, Nâzozi, which was then buried in the ground for four days and at the end of that time many little red (yellow) ants came forth. Hostjaishjiné then rolled some skin from his forehead and laid it on the ground when it turned into a horned toad, Nâshōng-bitcijy. Etsehostin built a house and lived there and the red (yellow) ants built all round this big house, and annoyed him and the others, so that they could find no rest day or night. Teholtsody thought he would go off and find some place to rest so he travelled to the east. The world was very small at this time, and Teholtsody soon came to its utmost limit and as he could go no farther, he built his house there. In like manner, the frog being troubled with the ants, he travelled to the south to the utmost limit of the world, and built there. Then Salt Woman went similarly to the west and built a house, and Tulthklahallé went to the north. Each of these houses was fashioned from east to west like a rainbow (shabiklo), and from south to north of Sun-rays (jōnâaibiklo<sup>th</sup>). So when we build a house today we have four poles reaching from east to west and from south to north, and these meet at the apex.

After these four had left him Etsehostin stayed in his own house. He said, "I wish we could get some clouds, I want rain," and he looked out of his house towards the East, where Teholtsody was and saw many clouds, for Teholtsody's house is of clouds. Etseasun then said, "I wish we had some kind of rain," and she looked to the south and saw a heavy fog, for this was the frog's house. Etsehostin wished that there was a mountain to stand on and look for rain, and he began to pray for rain; he looked west and saw a mirage, Hûtaonige, like a person. Etseasun now prayed on the north side, "Send rain so that everything may be wet." She saw a green scum on the water and made a house, 'Tutklitb'hogan, of this. This makes four houses.

Etsehostin sent Thunder naked to the cloud house of Teholtsody in the east, telling Thunder to stand right in the doorway of Teholtsody's house. Thunder went there and stood in the doorway naked and Teholtsody gave him a mantle of feathers which is the sheet (quick) lightning. On his head is the heat lightning. He had a tail feather which is Hajillkish, sheet lightning. Etseasun told the monster Tehlin (horn horse) to go to the south to Frog's house of fog. He went and stood in the doorway. Salt Woman had gone west and Etsehostin told Thonainilly to stand just outside the doorway of her house and watch her. He was to be her guardian. An old woman sat on the north side of the world and she sent a fish (turtle) to watch outside the doorway of Tulthklahale's house and guard it. After Teholtsody went east he made a water vessel (*tositsa*) of white clay. Frog in the south made one of blue clay; the Usheenasun in the west made one of yellow clay. Tultklehale on the north made one of spotted clay. It had variegated surface of black, blue, yellow and white.

Etsehostin began to travel and he went to Teholtsody's house, and in the middle of it he found the pot Teholtsody had made and it was covered. He lifted the cover and found it full of water. He went home and told his wife that Teholtsody was growing wiser than they were. Etseasun then went south to Frog's house and saw his pot full of water, and she returned to her house and told her husband. Jösdelhazhy said she also would travel and she went west and found that Salt Woman also had a pot full of water. She returned and told what she had seen. Hashjaishjine then went north and found a pot of water in the house of Tulthkalhale and he returned very angry. He said, "They are all getting wiser than us. They are growing rich and we are still poor. We have nothing and cannot make anything." Etsehostin said, "Why should you be angry? We will grow wise like them and have many things some day." Then Etsehostin went to Teholtsody's house to get a little water, which he brought back to his own house. Etseasun went and brought some from the south. Next Hostin borrowed some from the west and Asun borrowed from the north. Having brought water from each of these four places Hostin planted it all together in the ground. In a few days he saw a damp, green spot there. He returned to look at the place in a few more days and saw that bushes had grown there. He made a third visit and found jointed grass. He made a fourth visit and found the reed grass, *looka* (arrow grass, *tluka*) but it had no pollen on the top, and there was a large spring also. Hostin again said, "I wish we had something more," and he went to the spring and found *lookaitso* growing right in the centre of it. Five different kinds of plants grew out of the spring and he pulled up some of each kind and thook them home. One of these reeds had twelve joints and the wind came out of the other end and made music (a flageolet). The wind emerging from this reed whirled about on the ground all over the world and it went to the houses at the four quarters and caused them much trouble. The dweller at each house sent his guard out to trouble the wind. They took black clouds, fogs, and blue mould, also to each of them was given Thunder and Lightning and the guardians kept shooting at the little winds but these latter kept dodging about so that they could not be hit. But this only raised more wind and it rained heavily, then the guards stopped troubling the wind for they could not conquer it.

When the rain stopped Hostin said to his wife, "Everything looks beautiful, I wish we had something good to eat." He looked in all directions and saw Hajilkish (Glow-light Heat-Lightning) at the four points where people lived. Then he prayed for some kind of grass, or fruit, or seeds to live upon. He went to the spring and saw something green that had come up out of the ground and it was corn. He then went east to Teholtsody and found the pumpkin and squash and returned. Asun went south and found that Frog had raised watermelon and tobacco. She returned. Then Hostin went west to Salt Woman's house and found beans



and cotton growing, then she returned home. Hostin went north to Tulthkle's house and found muskmelon and gourds growing in great quantities. He then returned and said to Asun, "We have wished for these things (i. e. we have everything we prayed for). Now we have many things. Let us pray for something more." So he prayed and sang for more.

He went to the spring and saw a "fruit" in the middle of the water. He went back for Spider Woman and told her to get this fruit out of the water. She got it and gave it to Hostin who looked at it and saw it was Yolakaihatate, a big shell, big as a pan. He took this home and returned next day to the spring and found more fruit. Spider Woman again brought it out and it was Turquoise, Tedokiji. Hostin then went east to Teholt-sody's house and went in and found a big black bow and arrow, also eagle feathers. These Hostin used as Thunder (the arrow for lightning, and the feathers to guide the arrows). Asun sent south to Frog's house, and Frog had stone knives (paishhathl). Spider Woman went to Salt Woman who had planted cotton and had been weaving it into cloth. Spider Woman got this and brought it home. Hashjaishjine went north to Tulthkle's house and found black cloth and fetched it home. On the first trip Hashjaishjine returned angry but this time he was in good humor. He said to Hostin, "The people at the four corners are growing rich." Hostin then prayed for more and went to the spring. The corn was growing ripe and each stalk carried twelve ears. Asun went over and gathered it and brought it home. They now had plenty of corn and much else besides. But those living at the four corners of the world had no corn so they came to Hostin's house and begged him for some. He told them to provide for themselves, but finally he gave them some of the pollen (*taditin*), but none of the ear corn. He told them to plant the pollen. They did so and it grew up small, like onions, but no ears grew upon it. Then they begged Hostin for some seed corn but he would not give them any. Teholtsody said, "When Hostin came borrowing water we all gave him some, and enabled him to raise water of his own." Hostin said, "Surely you let me have water and when you begged for corn I gave it to you and taught you how to plant it as best I could." Teholtsody was very angry and thought how he could destroy Hostin. Teholtsody gave Thunder a bow and arrow and told him to go and kill Hostin, "for," said he, "we must have some of this corn." Thunder went "to try and burst Hostin open with lightning," but Horned Toad was in the doorway of Hostin's house and the wind warned Hostin of his danger. Hostin told Horned Toad to stand in front of him always, for as he was so rough-coated lightning could not hurt him. Frog was also angry and assaulted Hostin. He sent his guardian Tehlinl (a water monster) to draw all the water away (to dry it up) from Hostin's spring. But Spider Woman wove an impenetrable web around it so that Frog and his guardian were foiled. (Hostjaishkine was the most powerful). Salt Woman gave Tiinainilly a lump



(double handful) of salt, and he also had some kind of lightning in his hands, and he came against Hostin. Hostjaishjine saw him coming and knew his harmful intent. Hostjaishjine had a long stone knife with a wooden handle. He ran into the house and made a fire by twirling a spindle of wood, etc. He made a small fire and scattered it all over Hostin's house. Tiinainilly (a young man) came close in order to throw his lightning on to the house and his salt upon the fire, which exploded, but no harm ensued, so he went back to the west and the Salt Woman was powerless. Tulthklahale, in the north, sent Mud Turtle (Black-mud Fish) to harm Hostin. Turtle had some kind of lightning of arrow, but could do no harm. Hastjaishjine made a big shirt of rawhide and gave it to Wunustcinde (locust) and this protected him against the lightning or arrows of the Turtle; no impression could be made on this shirt, and this is the origin of the shield. Hastjaishjini saw that all these people were jealous of the Hostin and were trying to destroy him. (They were envious of his possessing corn, etc.). Hostin then asked Hastjaishjini to do what he could against these people. Hastjaishjini's anger was roused against these people and he sallied forth to their houses. He went first to east, then south, then west, then north. He broke open their houses and successively broke the pot and spilled the water that was in them. The water that was in the pot in the east flowed to the south and the water that was in the pot in the north flowed toward the west, and all the waters met in the west and there was a great flood. Hostin had corn, white shells, turquoise and everything he wanted. He had large hollow reeds which would float on the water so he did not care when the flood should reach him. But all these eight persons who were envious and at enmity with Hostin were troubled and afraid of the flood. Hostin and his people were not afraid as they had the means of floating on the water.

Hostin and his family cut the great reeds and put all their corn and other possessions inside of these, and the whole world was gradually overflowed. Then Teholtsody and the others at the cardinal points began to wish that they could save themselves with Hostin and his family. Teholtsody made a bow and arrow and gave them to Thunder and told him to go to Hostin and give them to him and beg that there might be peace between them. Thunder went to Hostin's house and said, "Teholtsody sends you this bow and arrow and begs you to be his friend." Hostin would not look at them and said, "I have nothing to do with it. Go to Hostjaishjine. He is the one that broke the water vessels and brought on this flood." So Thunder took them to Hostjaishjine and made the same offer. Hostjaishjine would not listen to Thunder but said, "Go to Wunustcinde" (locust). Thunder went to him and he accepted the bow and arrow saying, "This is just what I want." There were two arrows and Wunustcinde thrust them into his breast, one at either side, and drew them completely through. You may see that this insect has the holes in its thorax to this day. Then he put them in his mouth and

thrust them down his throat into his stomach and withdrew them again, and there was blood adhering to them.

Next Frog sent Teklin to Hostin to say, "My house is overflowed and I have lost everything except this tobacco bag which I wish you to accept that we may become friends." The bag was made from the green scum of the water and was embroidered with beads, etc. Hostin would not have it and referred him to Hostjaishjine who breathed upon it four times and there was some tobacco in it and he filled a clay pipe with it and smoked.

Next Salt Woman said, "We shall be killed by the water, we cannot live here, let us go to Hostin." She had a cotton blanket (*naskan*) and offered this through Tunelini (Salt Woman's guard) to Hostin. He would not have it, and said, "Go to Spider Woman and give her the blanket." She looked at it, put it around her waist, breathed from it four times and was satisfied. Next came Hakleale (Fish Guardian) who sent fish to Hostin with a flint shirt and cap. He offered them, but Hostin sent him to second man (Nacûiditcije, Horned Toad). He took the shirt and cap, put the shirt on and wore the cap, and therefore all four groups (eight people) were now on peaceable terms with Hostin.

They were all friends. They stayed there a while but everything was flooded except on the east side. Little white mountains showed above the water. On the south side were little blue mountains; on the west side, little yellow mountains; on the north, little black mountains. All just barely showed their heads above water. Hostin went east to White mountains and picked up a little earth and returned. Spider Woman wove a web on the surface of the water near each of the four mountains. Hostin had a house of rainbow and sun rays in the form of a little mountain and he covered it with earth for a roof. The water had not yet covered the houses. Spider Woman wove a web so that the spring could not overflow yet. Old Man (Hostin) and Woman (Asun) went over to the spring and planted every growing thing, corn, melons, pumpkins, beans, all things, and they got all kinds of seeds and put them away. Those living in the various directions owned their water and had it with them. After the restoration of peace, Old Woman made new vessels for all these people in which they carried their water supply. When they made peace and were all united, the flood continued, so they put all their corn and property in the reeds and got inside themselves. All these people were inside the reeds and the water kept rising. Old Man and Woman went down to the spring. Old Man got on one side, Old Woman, on the other. He began to pray: "We are going to leave the spring, we will never come back again, but wherever I go I will always live as I have done here, do everything as I have done here."

When he finished praying, a young man came out of the spring and a little afterwards another. They did not look at the boys closely, but Old Woman took them in her arms and folded her blanket around them

and went to the reeds. They made a hole in the reed in the side of the shaft and the people got inside and Old Man went in last, but Wunustcinde (locust) got up to the top of the reed and sat upon a leaf. As the reed began to move upward Wunustcinde began to make a noise through the holes in his thorax and as he did so the reed began to shake like wind. Black Wind shook it at the roots and made it move. The reed grew up higher and higher. The water now covered all the earth, everything except this reed which kept growing and Wunustcinde was always on the leaf at the top. As the reed grew, the water continued to rise; as Wunustcinde made his noise, the reed kept growing and Black Wind kept blowing at the roots and the people became aware that they were close to the roof of the world and did not know what to do as there was no space left for them between the surface of the water and the under side of this earth. Wunustcinde stopped his noise and Black Wind stopped blowing, and the reed stopped growing. They did not know what to do. Old Man then said to him of the north, "You begged me to bring you along, now come with me to look around and see if there is any way to get out of this world." But they could not find a hole anywhere nor any way to get out. They were frightened and thought they would all die there. But the Spider Woman wove a web on the surface of the water. It floated like a raft and all the people got out and sat upon it. They were puzzled what to do. Hostjaishjine picked up his *peshhath* (stone knife) and began to bore a hole in the roof over them. It was of clay which dropped and crumbled and when he could go no farther he called Wunustcinde to try, who soon bored a small hole through and came out upon the new world, but the water coming up through the hole which he had made was like to flood the new world also, so he stopped the hole up with mud.

No one saw him there as yet. Then he saw the water rising up from east, south, west, and north. He made the noise with his thorax. He saw a swan on the south side making much noise and the water was all in motion. Wunustcinde made such noise that the swan from the east, also one from the north and one from the west came to him. All four came to him but did not know what to think of him. They asked him where he came from. He told them from the world below. They would not believe him so he told them how he had come. The swans told him that neither he nor his people should come to this new place for it belonged to the swans only, and they would not let anyone else live here. Wunustcinde had a hard time with the swans, and they fought him. Finally they said, "If you want to stay here you must pay us." So Wunustcinde returned to his people and told them all this. Wunustcinde had the red substance that causes the sun to set red when it is going to storm and he offered this to the swans for their land. They put it on their wings and were so much pleased with it they said, "Well now, you can come and live here." Wunustcinde said to them that some of his people could not live in the water, although some of them could. Then the swans said



that after four days there would be some dry land. The swans had pots of clay and they placed one on the east side, one on the north side, one on the west side and in this way they carried off some of the water, and made some dry land. When the others came up to the new world they built little round houses again of the same red substance that had been given to the swans.

First Man made a man called Hosjelti and placed him on San Francisco Mountain; another called Hosjogwan (?) who lives on Ute Mountains; another called Navesrhuni (Nagenezgruni) who lives on Navajo Mountain; another called Hoshjaishjine who lives on San Mateo Mountain. These four own all the game and other animals on these mountains. Old Man's people however lived close together. They took the earth gathered from the four mountains in the lower world and again they formed mountains as in lower world, at east, white; at south, blue; at west, yellow; at north, black. No one was allowed to see the boys who were found at the spring; they were left at the Ute Mountains when the people first came up. Old Man had brought seeds of all kinds with him and planted everything that grows, vegetables, plants, timber, sagebrush, flowers, everything. He found lots of people here who joined him. That was when bears, deer, antelope, rabbit, birds, all kinds of animals were people.

They (Old Man?) made a white blanket for sunrise over Ute Mts., east; a blue blanket for the south sky, over San Mateo Mt., south; a yellow blanket for sunset over San Francisco Mt., west; a black blanket for Navajo Mt., north. There had been neither day nor night in the lower world, only sufficient light for existence. Old Man now said, "Let us arrange to have day and night, a time for work and a time for sleep," and so we see it is today. Just before sunrise comes a white streak in the east. Then the yellow of sunset and the white of the east meet in the middle so as to give light enough to work. And when the blue and the black meet in the middle this way it makes night, the time for sleep.

Then Old Man and Old Woman said, "We have nobody to talk to about ourselves (to worship us)." Old Man went off to the east to find people, for some as soon as they reached the upper world went toward the east. Old Man followed after these, and from east they brought back eagle feathers; from west, hawk feathers; from south, blue feathers; from north, speckled feathers (of whip-poor-will, night bird). When they got these altogether they laid them before them. Beside east feather they laid white corn and white shell; beside west feather, yellow corn and abalone shell; beside south feather, blue corn, and turquoise; beside north feather, all kinds of corn and shells and turquoise. All four were laid out together. Old man arranged all these for singing and praying to these things as he did at the spring, singing and praying. He and Old Woman and all his people moved about walking over these things several times in ceremonial manner.

East feather was for the wolf. The feather and corn and shell were prayed over and a wolf was raised. They prayed over the west objects, and Mountain Lion was raised; they prayed over the south objects and Tabastin, Otter, was raised; they prayed over the north objects, Bud (sic!) Beaver was raised. Old man said, "We need rulers," and he made these four rulers over these several regions. He planted all vegetable things and sprinkled them with the earth of the four mountains to give them power. These mountains had much wild tobacco growing on them. The four animals were the rulers of all the land. They smoked and felt good and began to teach the people to be farmers, to plant corn, wheat, melons, pumpkins, beans, chile, etc. and how to irrigate and take care of their crops. All four (animals) taught the people to use all kinds of grasses, timber, etc.

Old Man and Old Woman again talked about how they should get some more people, and they worked hard and made people. Joshdelhashi assisted them. She rubbed down the skin on her arms, and put the roll of cuticle on the ground, and it became a man (Repeat for various parts of the body, as in the first world, p. 88, until twelve people are made).

They made six men and six women, and the offspring of these twelve people are all pueblo Indians, Moki, Oraibi, Zuñi, etc. men who cut their hair across the front of the face. When the white streak of daylight, the white of the east, met the yellow of sunset in mid heavens, and after they had each returned to their place (as they do daily) the white of the east had offspring which was Coyote, and the yellow of the west a yellow fox. The blue and black met in mid heaven and returning had issue — the blue, a blue fox, and the black, a badger. On the east side is Coyote; on the west, Yellow Fox; on the south, Blue Fox; on the north, Badger.

The Coyote of the east came where the people were and asked Old Man where he came from. Old Man told him from three worlds down below and also told Coyote how he came up, also saying "If you (Coyote) are a clever man, I will teach you all we know about our religion, etc." So he taught him everything. Coyote got to know a great deal, and he went off to the Ute Mountains and got on the summit and commenced howling and making all sorts of noises. Old man had Guardian Wind and Wind went to Coyote and asked him what he was yelling about, and Coyote said, "It is none of your business." Coyote said he belonged to Old Man and had learned how to do everything, and that no roaring of the wind could frighten him. Wind said, "Keep on then, see if Old Man will not make a living without (after) you." Coyote said, "He will have to do more than he has been doing then." Coyote went back to Old Man and told him lies about the wind.

Blue and Yellow Foxes went together to the pueblos and belong to them. Coyote and Badger belong to the Navajos, but Great Wolf was the chief (ruler) of the whole. He gets up at daybreak, stands in the midst of the people's dwellings and calls to the people to go to work in the fields.



He advises them to get early to work planting corn, gardening and irrigating.<sup>1</sup>

He had a very smart woman for a wife and they had two children. After a time this woman made herself three small sticks for gambling and would go off all day long and leave the children helpless. Late in the afternoon Wolf chief, the man, came home and saw the state of the hogan, untidy, and one of the children lying in the ashes of the fireplace. He did not try to clean up for he was very tired and lay down. At sunset his wife came back with her sticks but she had gambled away everything she had. Then the husband expostulated with her on her conduct. She replied tartly that he could stay and take care of the hogan and children as he had nothing to do. He said he provided food, etc. but she was quarrelsome and continued scolding (like the Navaho women today!). She told her husband she could take care of herself and so continued scolding, etc. until time for the Corn dance. She carried off the corn to grind and make mush for the dance although her own children were crying with hunger. Finally she told her husband to go off and she could easily find another. She said she could do without assistance. The husband avoided replying to her and said nothing. He lay still all night feeling bad about her. In the morning he did not know what to do. He took his bow and arrow and walked off. Shortly he found some meat in the woods on a tree and he took some and ate it raw. That is why Wolf eats raw meat. He stole this meat (for it belonged to the second chief) but it was by reason of the trouble with his wife and he was muddled. At sunset he returned, said not a word to his wife, nor to his people who came to see him. In the night all his people came to see him for they thought he was sick. On the second night he said nothing, and next morning he would say nothing. The third chief came to see him, "Come out and do some work," said he. No answer. On the third night it was the same. On the fourth day the fourth chief called on him, still no result. On the fifth night the three chiefs met together and said, "Let us go to First Chief's house and speak to him." So they went and said to him, "We called the people to work but they idle and gamble in the fields. Come into the house (lodge) and examine each separately, and find out who has spoken a bad word of you, our Chief," but they could find no one who had done so. Then they called in all the women to the lodge to find if any of them had given offense to the chief, still they found no one; by this time it was nearly daylight. Still the chief would say nothing. The women said there was none of them guilty. This was at daylight. "Who is the man? No man nor woman caused his trouble but the woman he was living with." On the sixth night the chief said, "I will speak a few words to you, and tomorrow I will go out to the fields." He went out and saw the crops neglected and weeds growing. On the following night he called the men into his house

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<sup>1</sup> Almost certainly an identification with Peace Chief — G. A. R.



and they all assembled. He said "I am sorry. My wife alone is to blame, but every woman you have is liable to do the same as mine has done. Let them go and try to make a living for themselves and see how they like that. There is a wide, deep river, without a ford. Let us (men) find means to cross it, and leave all the women behind. Every man must leave his wife." Most of them felt sorry, and some said, "What will we do in the case of a nursing boy baby, shall we take him away from his mother? How about Nutlys, berdaches? They also like to gamble with the women. Let us see what the berdaches say?" The berdaches were the last to come in. They scratched the ground with a stick a long time trying to make up their minds. They did not care to go with the women, and what could they do? Finally they said, "We will go with the men." "Very well," the men said, "That is good, but you must take your own food with you." The men asked them also, "Have you your own grinding stones, pots, dippers, mush sticks, brushes, are all these your own?" "Yes, by my own hands." "All right," the men said, "We will take one berdache with us to cook for us."

The chief told the men to get ready to cross the river that day. They got ready to go. They had plenty of corn and all kinds of food, but he said, "We must go without anything, only a few kernels for seed." The berdache took along everything. Rafts were made and preparations completed. Best hunters crossed first so that if they should find any antelope with milk they might bring it back for the children. The berdache remained behind (at the camp after crossing the river) and ground some corn and made a little mush for the children, and the hunters were to come back in the middle of the day with meat and milk. The hunters brought back deer and antelope but many did not feel like eating as they had just parted from their wives. All the men sat up during the night to talk about their trouble. Finally they said, "Let us go to work," and they began cutting trees for houses. The women camped on the opposite river bank and held out their privates (*djocs*) where the men could see them, calling out to them, "How would you like to have some?" etc. trying to tantalize them and entice them back. The hunters went out again and some cleared the ground for planting. At that time they had only stone implements for axes and broad sticks for hoes. The second night they camped out again and some brought in deer and antelope and they were better off than before. The fourth night they were all contented, they had plenty of game and food. The little children began to be contented as they grew accustomed to their separation from their mothers. The women camped on the river bank, and ground corn constantly in sight of the men on the opposite bank. The houses were strung along as the mealing stones were arranged. They had some square houses too, but these belonged to the Pueblo Indians. The men became quite indifferent to the women, but the women were becoming restless with increasing amatory desires. Four years this separation continued, and as the

men had left plenty of corn and food of all kinds with the women they did not suffer much until the end of this time. By that time however, the fields had become overgrown with sagebrush and cottonwood as the women had planted nothing. Then they had to gather up bones and boil them for all their possessions were exhausted and they suffered greatly. Badger (of the north) wanted to copulate with the women but he had a bad penis, crooked like a hook. The first one he tried was Joshdelhashi, then all the others. It made them crazy and they went wild with desire to copulate continually. Some of them took a corn cob wrapped with any soft substance and continually performed the sexual act artificially. Some tried to swim the river to get to the men but were drowned. Some died crazy with wild desire. This and lack of food caused the death of most of the women. Coyote, Blue Fox, Yellow Fox and Badger copulated with the women continually, and licked the women between the legs. That is why dogs and these animals lick each other that way.

On the other side of the river, the children had grown up so that all could work. They had plenty of food as there were no idlers to consume it. When they killed an antelope they cut out the liver and made a hole in it and artificially performed the sexual act. Some who could overtake a doe would copulate with it, but these lightning struck and burst open. Some in like manner with an antelope doe, and the rattlesnake bit and killed them. Another man would do likewise with mountain sheep and a bear killed him.

Kideztizi was out hunting till late and as he could not reach home he camped. He lay down before the fire with a piece of liver in his hand, warming his penis to cause an erection. Nastja (owl) lit on branch above him and hooting called "Kitdeztizi, don't f... that liver," and then flew away. Another owl came from the same direction and lit crying "You go on and do so if you wish." He acted on the last suggestion and then went to sleep.

Very few women were left alive, but the men remained strong and well. The men came together one night and began to talk about the women and asked the chief what he thought ought to be done. Most of the men said, "We are here without women and when we begin to die we shall disappear very fast as we have no increase." They talked four nights and then the chief said, "One of you might go across the river and see how many of the women are left. Look for the woman who caused trouble and if she is dead, all will be well." She was found alive but could hardly lift her head. Scarcely any flesh remained on her bones and she defecated where she lay. All the four chiefs went over to see her. As the head chief went into his old house where she had abused him, she seized him, but he jerked away from her, and then she began to talk to him. She wept with sorrow and repentance, and acknowledged that she was unable to live alone as she had once thought. All the women came and begged piteously. But the men would not touch them for they all

smelled bad, like coyotes. The chiefs all returned across the river to discuss the matter. Most of them thought that they might as well keep the few women remaining, or else the race would disappear. The men had one berdache among them and they decided to leave the question to his decision. He said he was content to have the women come across because he was tired of cooking for them all. He said, "The best you can do is to bring these women over." He made a lot of small boats (rafts) and brought the women across in two days. After the women were brought over the men would give them nothing to eat for they smelled bad, and they put them in the sweathouses and gave them herbs to make them vomit. Some of the women ate too much and it killed them. On the fourth night the sweating ceremonies were over, and the women were fed. They grew fat and healthy again. Those whose wives had died became jealous of those whose wives rejoined them. This jealousy spread, and it has always continued. At the end of four years the young girls had grown fit for wives and those who had none took these. At the end of these four years they came from the east and crossed the..... Mountains (omitted from mss.)

A long time before this when Teholtsody left, he built a house under the water upon the bottom of the river, and no one had seen him since. At night the cries of a baby were heard from the water house and Coyote tried to get the baby but failed. He went to Old Man and told him, and Old Man said, "Go to the Spider Woman." Spider Woman spun a web which spread over the river to the place where the house was beneath the water, and she got the baby and hid it away so that Teholtsody could not find the child. He is sad to this day because of the loss of the child. He is everybody's friend. Spider Woman took the baby and wrapped it in the web and placed it under her left arm and no one can find it to this day. Teholtsody being unable to find the baby grew crazy and said he would keep on killing everyone he met until he found this child. Being very angry he opened the earth at four corners and let the waters loose, and the rise of the water brought the people together and they saw the waters come up and out of the earth like the clouds and they could not understand it. Then they prayed for the winds, and they came up. White Wind being quick went to the east, Blue to the south, Yellow to west, and Black to the north, and they returned and said, "You are going to be drowned, for great bodies of water are coming together." Then one went to East Mountain to get some earth, one to San Francisco Mt., west; one to Navajo Mt., north; and one to San Mateo Mt., east. They brought earth from all these. When Old Man left the lower world Old Woman brought the springs up with her under her arms.

The two youths<sup>1</sup> came back from the mountain called Tcolii. Everybody saw them. One had a piece of hollow reed with four holes in its side,

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 104.



the other a sunflower stem with four holes in its stem (i. e. flutes). And all the people came together. They had plenty of everything, but the water came so quickly upon them they had only time to take enough for seed and they began to climb the mountains but the waters still rose. So the people climbed up to the tops of the pine trees. The two youths who had the reed and sunflower planted the reed and the people got into it and the reed began to grow. Klishjo was at the bottom, then Thunder, then the Turkey whose tail dragged in the water, that is why his feathers are white. These flutes had four holes. The first hole was for Black Wind, second for Yellow, third for Blue, and fourth White, and these winds guarded the holes in the flute. The winds began to blow and the Great Fly also began to shake the flute, and it began to grow, and the rain kept falling. They had no rest for four nights and Badger began to dig upward but came back again. Wunustcinde then began to dig and shortly he penetrated through to another world, but he found nothing but water. Wunustcinde being small he was hard to see, but soon a man in the east who had an axe spied him and came and struck twelve times at him but could not hit him. Then came a man from the south and tried, then from the west, then from the north, but all failed to hurt him. So these four men went back in the directions they came from. The man who came with the axe first went back, but another man came from the east, Tcithkahilka with two arrows, one trimmed with gray eagle feathers and one with black. He came to Wunustcinde and threw the arrows at him. "What are you doing here?" he said. "You have no right here, this is my land." Wunustcinde said, "We shall see about that. We would like to live here at any rate." The man took his arrows and put one up his anus, the other down his throat and pushed them through, then drew them out and threw them to Wunustcinde saying, that if he could do that the land would be his. Wunustcinde said he could do better than that, so he pushed them through his breast, one from each side and taking them by the points drew them through. There was a little blood adhering to them but the act did not hurt him at all. Wunustcinde said, "If you do as I have done, you can have your ground back. It belongs to me now as I have won it from you." The man picked up his arrows and went home in sorrow. (Repeat for the men who came from the other three points). So Wunustcinde won that country.

He returned to his people and told of his new world, and four of his people went up. One of these with his flint knife cut the ground towards the east and made a little cañon. The next man went south, and dragged his black cane through the soft ground and made an arroyo. Mountain sheep, the third man, went west and formed an arroyo, ploughing up the ground. The fourth was Rhanskidde. He had a straight stick which he dragged along the ground and made an arroyo to the north side. All these four met again in the middle and then went down to their people. The four winds then came up on top and blew as hard as they could and by

the fourth night everything was dry and the land beautiful. That is why water runs in all directions. When Badger came up, the ground was muddy in places and he being short-legged got stuck in the mud. That is why he has a black muzzle and black legs. The winds followed after Badger. The leader of the Winds was left-handed. The next one was the Striped Wind. Next the Spotted Wind, and fourth was Shiny Wind. These all raised a tempest which dried up the ground very quickly. They sent out big grey Fly who flew up and found everything beautiful. He returned and reported to his people, and they stayed yet another twelve days before the new world was dry enough for occupancy.

Spider Woman still carried Teholtsody's child under her arm wrapped in spider web. Everything being in readiness, long ladders were made to reach through the hole from the lower to the new upper world and the people all came up through by this means. The water of the lower world kept rising until it touched the bottom of new world and Turkey was last to come up. The foam touched his tail; that is why it is white on the end. Some water squirted up through the hole after all had got out, and it formed a lake. When all the people were up Hoskjelti (Hosdjeyelti) sought for the best place to build houses and he laid the foundations of the houses of all the Pueblo Indians. While he was working for these people his own people could not wait any longer without houses so they cut down poles and built hogans. Then they arranged their farms, planting all kinds of seed. Teholtsody was still searching for his child and followed these people. He wanted to come out upon this upper world and everyone was afraid and did not know what to do. While people were talking, Spider Woman came in with the child and they made her give the child back to Teholtsody, who then went down to the lower world and closed over the water.

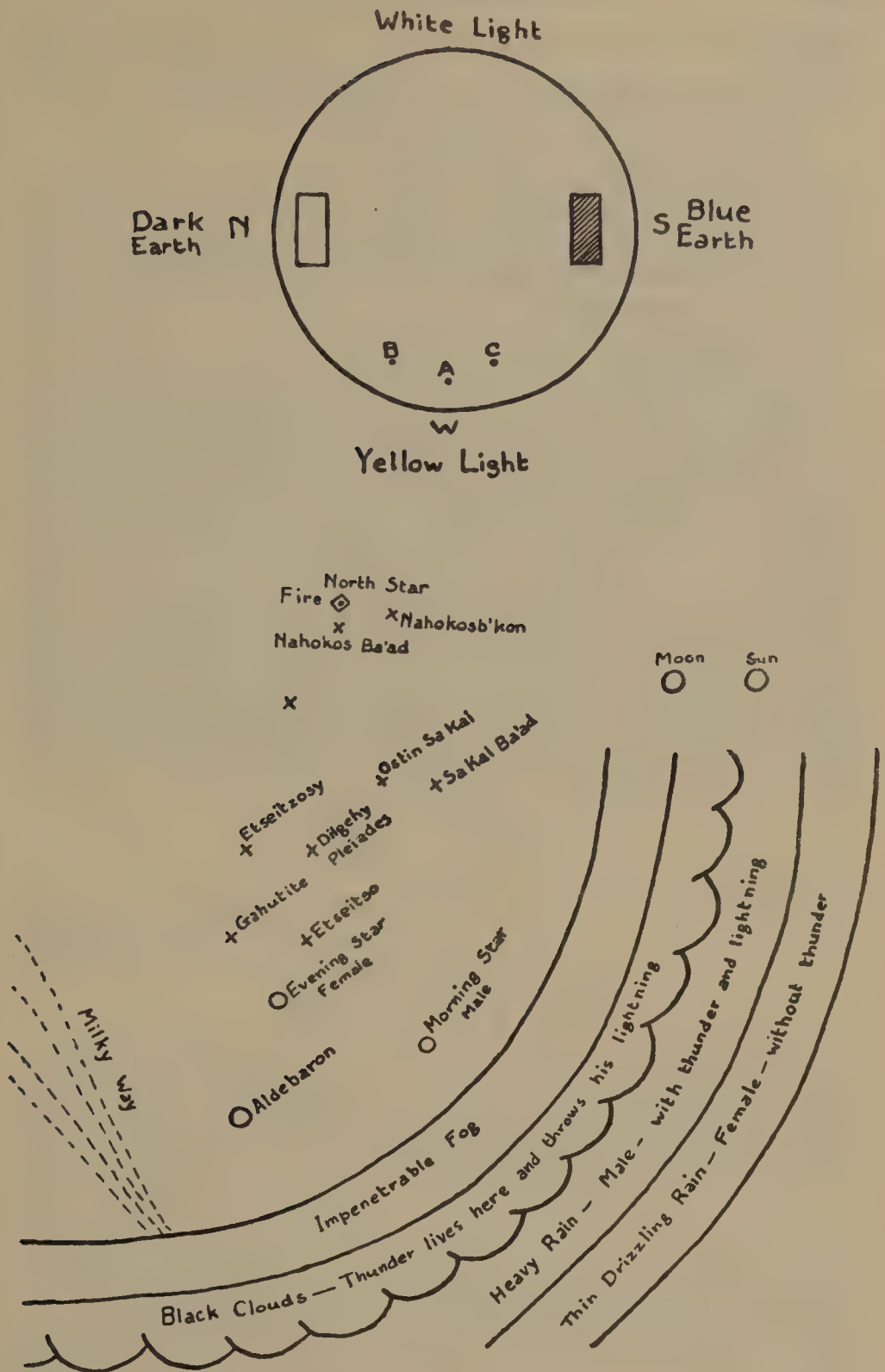
To this latter world was brought from the former ones all the seeds of plants and of trees and of all things that grow.

Navajos and Mokis came up at the same time, (all this legend concerns them both).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen's full transcription ends here, but in the manuscript there follow immediately some fragmentary notes on the creation of the universe under the image of the building of a native house. It evidently has reference to ritual poetry somewhat similar to that from the Pima so inadequately translated by Russell (RBAE 26: 350-352):

Old Man established the heavens. The four persons of the cardinal points held a four days' council. They appointed Hosjelti, Mountain Guardian, a good man, and said, "Let him go and build our house for us. There is no sun, there is no moon, but we must have these things." They built a house of all the colors of the cardinal directions. Nasdjeasan sat at B (see diagram, p. 103.) Etsi-itsan sat at C. Hoshjelti and Hostjog<sup>r</sup>wan on either side of A. These two made the sun and moon, the sun out of turquoise, the moon out of white shell. All the supernaturals worked on the blue blanket hung to the south which repre-



Plan of Hashjeshjine's Heavens.



sented the earth. They made all the stars and put them on the earth (in the heavens?)

The following is obviously hardly more than a listing of outstanding lines:

Place the house thus, this is where the sun comes up.

From the south send us the white corn.

Yellow corn pollen come.

The man in the west owns the houses;

When the sun goes down the yellow rays come up.

May my house be surrounded with such splendor as there yonder  
where the sun rises.

Place the house with its door toward it.

It is beautiful.

Another and different version of the creation of the sun and moon is given immediately following in the manuscript: Old Man planted water in the lower world and it grew to the surface. When Old Man returned to the spring, he found two boys emerging, so he told his wife to catch these two boys, which she did, and she put them under her arms and kept them there till the people emerged in this world. These boys had no names. They helped to make the sun and moon. Old Man watched them make the sun and moon. One of the boys carries the sun on his back and the other carries the moon. Hence they were named Jonaaibaestin, Boy-who-went-inside-the-Sun, and Kleonaaibigestin, Boy-who-went-inside-the moon. These were the two greatest youths who ever appeared on the lowest (fourth) world. When Hash-jaishjine was thinking how to place the stars, came Coyote. (The manuscript ends here abruptly. The story alluded to is given in Matthew's notes, Navaho Legends, *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society* V : 223, 224.)

# NAVAJO SONG PATTERNING

BY EDA LOU WALTON.

In the formal poetry of any people there exist particular traditional patterns which give it its peculiar individuality. The Japanese hokku, the English sonnet, certain types of parallelism typical of Hebrew, of Babylonian, or of Finnish poetry are illustrations of this fact. Primitive poetry is no less formalized than is that of advanced civilizations, and it is particularly necessary for us to define the patterns therein since they are, on casual reading, so unfamiliar to us as to seem no pattern at all. Without consciousness of them moreover, we are without clue to the structure and formal elaboration of the poetry under consideration.

The Navajo<sup>1</sup> patterns are as important in poetic composition to the Navajo Indian's mind as is any English verse form to an English poet.

Their foremost demand is for parallelistic balance, and the whole body of Navajo poetry is conditioned by this patterning. It is the basis both of line and of stanza arrangement. Like the impressive repetition of ritual which is so highly developed among the Navajo, their poetry builds up by means of grouped parallelisms the elaborate sequences which fulfill their poetic requirements.

The simplest parallelisms of line are found in those refrains which are used so typically in Navajo poetry to open or to close a stanza.

From my head earthly beauty  
From my feet earthly beauty

This elementary balancing of line is continued in the next lines of the refrain in a like but shifted antithesis:

Below me earthly beauty  
Above me earthly beauty

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<sup>1</sup> The Navajo text has not been reproduced here since the type of poetic parallelism that is discussed survives translation. It has been necessary however to use literal renderings; word groups which represent one Navajo word are hyphenated. The texts used were all those of Washington Matthews:

The Night Chant, *Memoirs of the American Museum of National History*, vol. VI. 1902.

The Mountain Chant, V<sup>th</sup> Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1883—1884.

Navaho Legends, *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society*, vol. V. 1897

Navaho Myths, Prayers and Songs, edited by P. E. Goddard. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. V. 1907.

Navaho Gambling Songs, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 2, pp. 1—19

Songs of Sequence of the Navahos, *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. VII, pp. 185—194.

and the refrain is brought to a close by a climactic line:

Around me all earthly beauty.

The lines of any Navajo stanza present this sort of parallelistic grouping. There are several ways in which they may be grouped into stanzas. It may be, as in the beauty formula just quoted, by means of a climactic line. Or the stanza unit may be indicated by a series of meaningless syllables used as a burden at beginning and end. Or the stanza may be composed as in this example (Night Chant XIV):

*With the white corn it is rubbed away;  
Made of its roots, it is rubbed away;  
Made of its leaf-tips, it is rubbed away;  
Now made of its dew, it is rubbed away.  
Made of its tassel, it is rubbed away;  
Made of its pollen, it is rubbed away;  
Now made of its grain, it is rubbed away.<sup>1</sup>*

Here the grouped lines form single units in the larger whole. The primary line units (lines 2 and 3; lines 5 and 6) with their antitheses of *roots*, *leaf-tips*; of *tassel*, *pollen*, are set into a larger unit by the antitheses of lines 4 and 7 with their different phrasing and grammatical construction.

The balanced stanza thus formed is given a first line which is really a *leit-motif*, of which all the rest is a poetic elaboration of detail:

With the white corn it is rubbed away.

It is the song sung when the patient during the curing ceremony is rubbed with the healing cornmeal. It means that he is symbolically rubbed with all parts of the corn, with *fruitfulness* and *health*.

This simple line balance is exemplified in other favorite forms in the Gambling Songs. These are sung during the Moccasin Game, a Gambling Game, in which one side conceals a stone from the other side who must locate it. The songs are repeated over and over again. The players sing them to amuse themselves, to encourage themselves, and to mock the other side. All of them have to do with the story as to how the game originated. It was played first, the legend states, by the animals of day and the animals of night, in order to persuade the gods to keep it always daylight if the first group won, or always night if the second group won. The game must be played at night because it was first so played. The sun coming up suddenly ended that first legendary game, and, as a result, Navajos today have both day and night. In order to deceive the gods somewhat, however, the modern Navajos place heavy

<sup>1</sup> M. A. M. N. H., VI, p. 285.



curtains over the openings in their huts; then, if the game proves exciting, they continue gambling on into the morning. The following are fair illustrations of the design employed.

(Gambling Song XIV):

Squirrel in-his-shirt there-he-stands-up  
 Squirrel in-his-shirt there-he-stands-up  
 Slender there-he-stands-up.  
 Striped there-he stands-up.<sup>1</sup>

Following the first two lines in identical repetition, come two lines descriptive of the animal, lines which are incrementally parallel. A slightly more complex song, (Gambling Song XII) varies the repetition by alternating the meaningless syllables closing the lines, thereby introducing sound-pattern that is almost the equivalent of simple rhyme. The last two narrative lines evade the exactness of the pattern but keep the narrative line burden:

Badger lies-down *iii*  
 Badger lies-down *na*  
 Badger lies-down *iii*  
 Badger lies-down *na*

Waurr —aaaa, thus-he-says lies-down, *na*  
 His-forehead marked-by-a-white-streak, lies-down, *na*.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, as we noticed above, the line groups may be set off into stanzas by a last climactic line. This is not such a frequent Navajo pattern, but an excellent example occurs in an old oath offered by the priests as affirming the truth of what they say:

Horizontal-woman	for-it-shame-I-have
Dark-above	for-it-shame-I-have
Dawn	for-it-shame-I-have
Yellow-horizon-place	for-it-shame-I-have
Blue-horizon-place	for-it-shame-I-have
Darkness	for-it-shame-I-have
Sun-bearer	for-it-shame-I-have

In-me-it-stands with-me-it-talks for-it-shame-I-have.<sup>1</sup>

Here the earth, the sky, the four directions or horizons, the night, and the day are each appealed to in turn. In the last line the priest, in a beautiful climax, refers the question of his truth to his own conscience, the voice within himself which would be shamed if he lied.

<sup>1</sup> A. A., II, p. 15.

<sup>1</sup> A. A., II, p. 14.

<sup>1</sup> M. A. F. L. S. V, p. 58.

In these examples the parallelism is either antithetical, or is arrived at by breaking up the subject of the whole stanza into component details. There is another type of parallelism which is used more especially in narrative poetry. It may be called incremental. Wherever narrative is attempted, the formal pattern becomes less rigorous. The lines lengthen or shorten, new words breaking the complete parallelism are introduced, and the whole patterning becomes less strict. The following Red Rock House song is narrative in content relating the adventures of Dawn-Boy, the god of the East, and is concluded by one of the most characteristic beauty-formulas.

*Prelude:*

My-kindred where-are there I-wander, *ga*  
 My-kindred where-are there I-wander, *woya*  
 My-kindred where-are there I-wander, *ga*  
 My-kindred where-are there I-wander, *woya*

*Stanza I:*

Corn-white Little-one I-am	<i>yego</i> I-wander <i>woyen</i>
Rock-Red-House	there I-wander
<i>Kethawn</i> dark hangs-down	there I-wander <i>woyen</i>
Dawn <i>iye</i> pollen <i>iye</i> with its-trail	there I-wander
The-fire-behind its-stripes on-white-	
with pollen with hanging	there I-wander <i>woyen</i>
Them-I-have	<i>yego</i> I-wander <i>woyen</i>
A-second-thing from-within with- I	
went-out	<i>yego</i> I-wander <i>woyen</i>
Old-age house	there I-wander <i>woyen</i>
Beauty house	there I-wander <i>woyen</i>

My-head toward beauty *yego* I-wander *woyen*  
 My feet-from beauty *yego* I-wander *woyen*  
 Below-me beauty *yego* I-wander *woyen*  
 Above-me beauty *yego* I-wander *woyen*  
 Around-me all beauty *yego* I-wander *woyen*  
 Now old-age traveling now its-trail beauty-in  
     I-become *yego* I-wander *woyen*<sup>1</sup>

This song achieves its parallelism in two ways: (1) from the line grouping in couplets. *Red-Rock-House* (line 2) is synonomous with *Where the dark kethawn hangs* (line 3); and similarly each couplet. The whole nevertheless narrates that White Corn Boy obtained the

<sup>1</sup> Univ. of Col. Publ. in Am. Arch. and Eth. V, p. 36.

dawn-pollen, i. e., dawn, at Red Rock House. (2) Formal elaboration is achieved also by the alternating line refrains. They are not simple repetitions but are characteristically grouped. It is essential to realise that the first line, as in other stanzas instanced above, is, as it were, the topical sentence, and is followed by lines grouped into pairs by their synonymity. The alternating burdens follow this arrangement but introduce a further elaboration. If we indented the lines of the stanza to make visual the alternation of burdens we should have:

Corn-white Little-one I-am	yego I-wander woyen
Rock-Red-House	there I-wander
Kethawn dark hangs-down	there I-wander woyen
Dawn iye pollen iye with its-trail	there I-wander
The-fire-behind its-stripes on-white-with pollen with hanging	there I-wander woyen
Them-I-have	yego I-wander woyen
A-second-thing from within with-I went-out	yego I-wander woyen
Old-age house	there I-wander woyen
Beauty house	there I-wander woyen
My-head toward beauty	yego I-wander woyen
My feet-from beauty	yego I-wander woyen
Below-me beauty	yego I-wander woyen
Above-me beauty	yego I-wander woyen
Around-me all	yego I-wander woyen
Now old-age traveling now its-trail beauty-in I-become	yego I-wander woyen

That is, the topical line is made to parallel, by means of this burden, the third couplet, and the entire concluding beauty formula. The second and third couplets are broken up into a four-line-stanza by variants on the dominant burdens; and the fourth couplet is made to parallel one of these. It follows that the stanza is patterned by two sets of rhythm, a couplet-rhythm of meaning, and a more far-flung rhythm established by the line burdens, the two rhythms elaborating one another as it were in counterpoint. It can be compared to the counterpointal elaboration of design and color sequences in the embroidery of Siberian shaman's suits,<sup>1</sup> or on Peruvian ponchos.<sup>2</sup>

There is one recurring couplet in Navajo poetry in which the lines are atypically grouped. It is a fertility formula:

The-corn-comes-up; the-rain-descends;  
The-rain-descends; the-corn-comes-up.

<sup>1</sup> Reichard, Gladys: *The Complexity of Rhythm in Decorative Art*, A. A., N. S., 24 (1922) p. 203 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Boas, Franz: *Primitive Art*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 46—54.



This transposed order is not found in other Navajo examples, but wherever these lines occur they are always parallel in this inverted fashion. Certain of the Pueblo tribes have this song but they do not transpose the lines; they keep them antithetically parallel in the same order. In Navajo usage these lines may be used as a couplet forming one unit in a longer stanza or, introduced by meaningless syllables and meaningless refrains, they may become the idea-lines of two different stanzas standing alone; or they may be immediately followed by another statement in simple repetition of the same order, a statement usually of the rite action accompanying the song. If the patient is being brushed off with a broom of grass, "I sweep it off, I sweep it off" is added. In another song the phrase, *O Long Pot*, referring to a certain ritual vessel, is added to these transposed lines, etc. The following is characteristic of the type:

## Stanza I.

*The-corn-comes-up the-rain-descends nayayaie anhane*  
 I- sweep-it-off I-sweep-it-off anhane

## Stanza II.

*The-rain-descends the-corn-comes-up nayayaie anhane*  
 I-sweep-it-off I-sweep-it-off anhane<sup>1</sup>

The most atypical line patterning I have found occurs on a Daybreak Song sung just as the nine-day ceremony of the Night Chant comes to an end. The priests invoke the dawn and leave off their trying work. They have been singing most of the time for the nine preceeding days. The coming of dawn is announced by the bluebird.

*Prelude:*

His-voice he-has; his-voice he-has;  
 His-voice he-has; his-voice he-has;

*Stanza:*

Just-at-dawn Dola-calls  
 Bird blue his-voice he-has;  
 his-voice he-has, his-voice beautiful;  
 his-voice beautiful; glad it-flows.

*Refrain:*

Dola-calls; Dola-calls.<sup>1</sup>

Here the prelude introduces a phrase which is caught up again in line 2. Each phrase is repeated before the following phrase is introduced. This repetition is ideational rather than verbal in the first couplet:

<sup>1</sup> M. A. M. N. H. VI, p. 284.

<sup>1</sup> M. A. M. N. H. VI, p. 294.

Dola-calls;  
Bird blue,

*Dola* being synonymous with *bird blue*. The whole effect is one of an interweaving of the parallelism and of an extending of the length of line thereby, but the pattern is, as so often, fundamentally one of repetition and increment, and of exact balance of phrase against phrase.

It is obvious that not only lines but stanzaic series can be built up on these same favorite principles of Navajo parallelism. Most of the usual ideas underlying poetic balance in Navajo verse can indeed be illustrated either from balanced lines, or from balanced stanzas. The greater elaboration of their characteristic parallels, however, is in stanza sequences and it is from examples of this type that they are best understood.

Navajo song is predominantly stanzaic. In it thought is set forth not in one indeterminate sequence of lines, unless the song be, as it seldom is, but one stanza in length, but in defined groups of lines each of which expresses a complete idea, each of which is in pattern similar to every other group within the song. The succession of such groups composes the song.

The sequences upon which these stanzas are built are definite and limited. Theoretically any association of ideas might underly the parallelism; practically they are rather few. Most prominent perhaps are the series of formally grouped supernatural beings. Greater and lesser gods are mentioned in a certain order in the same or in succeeding stanzas. If one of the twin brothers, the greater war god, is named in one stanza, the lesser war god will be named in the corresponding line of the next stanza. Two or more gods whose functions are similar may be mentioned consecutively in song. For example, *Hastseyal'ti*, god of the dawn and of the east, is always associated in song and in ritual with *Hastseho'gan*, god of the house and of the West. *Tsiha'noai* (He-who-carries-during-the-day), the sun god, is always associated with *Kleha'noai* (He-who-carries-during-the-night), the moon god. The psychological explanation of such god groups is in part obvious, in part obscure, because they are connected with all of the intricacies of Navajo mythology and symbolism. But what is important for our present purpose is to note that the mention of *Hastseho'gan* in the first line of the first stanza calls for the mention of *Hastseyal'ti* in the first line of the second stanza; that a male god, named in the third or fourth line of the first stanza, calls for the naming of a female god in the third or fourth line of the second stanza. In four stanza songs, likewise, one god after another is named in definite prescribed order, perhaps the gods of the four cardinal points, perhaps two sets of greater and lesser gods. Even in the few longer songs in

our collection the naming of different gods in each different stanza proceeds according to certain symbolic or ritualistic practices and is therefore pre-determined. It is evident that any such dictated order as this once perceived, the reader of Navajo poetry comes to expect an exact equivalence between line and line and a certain arrangement of gods as stanza follows stanza.

Almost as conspicuous as this sequence of supernatural beings in patterning successive stanzas is the sequence of the directions. In all southwest Indian poetry the directions play a similar role, not only in themselves, but because of their associated color symbolism. In pueblo poetry, animals and plants also are associated with the direction. Here it is color chiefly. If in one stanza, yellow, the color of the west, is mentioned, at exactly that same point in the next stanza, white, the color of the east is mentioned; if in one stanza, black, the color of the north, is named, in the next, blue, the color of the south will be named. The order is usually East, West, South, North.

All natural phenomena are for the Navajo divided into two groups, the male and the female, and the sequence of male and female appears often in stanzaic patterning. If in one stanza, a heavy rain (male rain) is mentioned, in the next, a light rain (female rain) will be mentioned. If in one stanza a male river, the Rio Grande, is named, in the next a female river, the San Juan, will be named.

Color is associated for the Navajo also with male and female elements, sometimes in association also with the directions. Black, the color of the north, symbolizes the male, blue, the color of the south, the female.

It is perhaps in connection with the next important sequence of ideas, that of ritual paraphernalia, that the creative force of rite is most evident in their poetry. Rite paraphernalia such as cigarettes, arrows, pollen, or certain articles belonging inevitably to certain gods, are frequently mentioned in song. But since such paraphernalia are always used in rite according to certain prescribed rules — certain articles in connection with certain gods, certain colors in connection with certain cardinal points, certain symbols in connection with certain ideas — the mention of these paraphernalia in song likewise is parallel and standardized.

An acquaintance with these basic sequences of Navajo thought makes it possible, once the first stanza of a song has been worded and patterned, to predict with some exactness the wording and patterning of the succeeding stanzas. We have for example already spoken of Night Chant XIV:

<i>With-the-white-corn</i>	<i>it-is-rubbed-away</i>
<i>Made-of-its-roots</i>	<i>it-is-rubbed-away</i>
<i>Made-of-its-leaf-tips</i>	<i>it-is-rubbed-away</i>



<i>Now made-of-its-dew</i>	<i>it-is-rubbed-away</i>
<i>Made-of-its-tassels</i>	<i>it-is-rubbed-away</i>
<i>Made-of-its-pollen</i>	<i>it-is-rubbed-away</i>
<i>Now made-of-its-grain</i>	<i>it-is-rubbed-away.<sup>1</sup></i>

Were another stanza added (as in this case it happens not to be) *the white corn* might become *the yellow corn* and the following lines remain identical; or *the white corn* might remain and *leaf-tips* alternate with *roots*, *pollon* with *tassel*, or the balanced lines 4 and 5 which state the association with the rite in which the patient is rubbed with cornmeal but, through the rubbing, is symbolically rubbed with all parts of the corn, would, if a succession of rites were to be indicated, be changed to a statement of idea concerning, for instance, an amole bath. In other words, given a certain number of lines with a certain number of fixed associations of ideas and a certain knowledge of traditional sequences, and the reader can build up for himself several possible Navajo patterns for a second, third, or fourth stanza in any song.

So also in one of the more ritualistic of the Mountain Chant songs, No. XIV, given the first stanza:

<i>Now Dawn-Boy</i>	<i>it-hangs; ya ahaia la</i>
<i>From-the-Place-of Dawn</i>	<i>it-hangs; ya ahaia la</i>
<i>Toward-his-head Dawn</i>	<i>it-hangs; ya ahaia la</i>
<i>From-his-feet Dawn</i>	<i>it-hangs; ya ahaia la</i>
<i>Toward-his-head in-beauty</i>	<i>it-hangs; ya ahaia la</i>
<i>From-his-feet in-beauty</i>	<i>it-hangs; ya ahaia la</i>
<i>From-his-voice in-beauty</i>	<i>it-hangs; ya ahaia la<sup>1</sup>.</i>

The next stanza may be built (as it is) in antithetical parallelism by the mention in the first line not of *Dawn-Boy*, but of *Dawn-Girl*; and, in the second line, not *from the Place-of Dawn* (the East), but *from the Yellow-horizon-Place* (the West).

Night Chant I is typical of many of the Navajo songs. The first lines of the two stanzas are antithetical in that they mention homes of the gods, who are named in their usual order, in the second line of each stanza.

#### Stanza I:

<i>High-place-there-from</i>	<i>above-he-stands eee</i>
<i>Hastseniayuhi</i>	<i>above-he-stands eee</i>
<i>Your-body      holy-is</i>	<i>above-he-stands eee</i>

<sup>1</sup> M. A. M. N. H., VI, p. 285.

<sup>1</sup> R. B. A. E., V, p. 463.

## Stanza II:

<i>Below-cliff-house-there-from</i>	above-he-stands eee
<i>Hastsenensistline</i>	above-he-stands eee
Your-body            holy-is	above-he-stands eee <sup>1</sup>

Knowing the order of the Navajo gods and the order of their abodes one could go on forever making such stanzas for a song of purification.

The eighteen stanzas of Night Chant XV, among the longer Navajo ceremonial songs, show a repetition of much the same type of stanzaic patterning as occurs, in the shorter ceremonial songs.

## Prelude:

He-comes-to-life (four times)

## Stanza I:

<i>Among Dawn-land</i>	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
<i>Dawn its-pollen</i>	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
Now in-old-age wandering	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
Now his-trail of-beauty	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life

## Refrain:

He-comes-to-life (three times)

## Stanza II:

<i>Among-horizon-place-yellow</i>	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
<i>Horizon-place-yellow its-polen</i>	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
Now in-old-age wandering	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
Now his-trail of-beauty	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life

## Stanza III:

<i>Now Hastseyaltihi</i>	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
<i>Now his-skin-mantle white</i>	he comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
Now in-old-age wandering	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
Now his-trail of-beauty	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life

## Stanza IV:

<i>Now Hastsehogani</i>	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
<i>Now loin-cloth white</i>	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
Now in-old-age wandering	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life
Now his-trail of-beauty	he-comes-to-life he-comes-to-life <sup>1</sup> .

In the first two stanzas the dawnland (east) is contrasted with the Horizon-place-yellow (west). The narrative idea of the rite enters into the line burdens, *he comes to life*. In the rite, the gods do come to life, they are made to live again, The beauty formula closes, as is

<sup>1</sup> M. A. M. N. H., VI, p. 272.

<sup>1</sup> M. A. M. N. H., VI, p. 283.





## II.

Among those-yonder  
 Now *Holy-Young-Woman*  
 Mountain *blue* below  
 His-little-ones he-lays down.<sup>1</sup>

All these types of stanzaic parallelism may also carry forward a narrative. The songs of the Mountain Chant indeed are largely narrative. Whereas the themes of the Night Chant are comparatively abstract, the Mountain Chant is based on an old myth concerning ancestral animal spirits and attempts to illustrate through act and through song its story background. Hence the songs of the Night Chant are more formalized, more strictly parallel in pattern, whereas the songs of the Mountain Chant break somewhat from the rigidity of parallelistic patterning in order to tell the stories about the various animal ancestor gods.

The most striking fact about this Navajo "narrative" poetry, however, is the degree to which it conforms to the principles of strict parallelism which we have already described. The following song (Navajo Legend I) is the Navajo equivalent of the ballad. It is an example of songs that are sung at high points in the telling of the myths, and it narrates the heroic exploits of the Twin Brothers. Here the first lines of each stanza name the gods in their usual order: the second lines name the enemy gods overcome by them; the third lines name the trophies they bring as proof of their victories.

## Stanza I.

<i>Yeinaezga'ni</i>	for-me, for-me-myself he-brings;
<i>Yeyeye'na!</i>	
Now <i>His-Horns</i>	for-me, for-me-myself he-brings;
<i>Yeyeye'na!</i>	
Truly one <i>his-lung</i>	for-me, for-me-myself he-brings;
<i>Yeyeye'na!</i>	
The-people are-restored	for-me, for-me-myself he-brings;
<i>Yeyeye'na!</i>	

Refrain meaningless.

## Stanza II.

Now <i>Tobadzistisini</i>	for-me, for-me-myself he-brings;
<i>Yeyeye'na!</i>	
<i>Tseninaholisie</i>	for-me, for-me-myself he-brings;
<i>Yeyeye'na!</i>	

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 459.

Truly one his-wings            for-me, for-me-myself he-brings;  
 Yeyeye'na!  
 The-people are-restored    for-me, for-me-myself he-brings;  
 Yeyeye'na!<sup>1</sup>

The meaning is, therefore:

The elder Twin Hero has overcome his enemy, His-Horns, and has brought back his lung as a trophy, that his people may be restored.

The younger Twin Hero has overcome his enemy Tseninaholisie and has brought back his wings as a trophy, that his people may be restored.

The Night Chant Finishing Hymn II is an excellent example of the formalized Navajo narrative. The etiological myth tells of the Stricken Twins searching for return to health. One is blind, one is lame. They wander from the alkali flat to the green mountain stream, helping one another along the way. The first lines of each stanza describe antithetically the places at the beginning and the end of the journey. The rest of the stanzaic pattern develops out of transposition of the names of the gods and of the cures they desire.

#### I.

*The-white-valley-approaching the-water-lies(stagnant) anananti;*  
*His-Eyes-Without*            one-bearing-another from-there we-arrive  
*His-Limbs-Without*           one-bearing-another from-there we-arrive  
*Medicine* where-appears *water* where-appears from-there we-arrive  
 With-this your-eyes           again-recover            from-there we-arrive  
 With-this your-limbs        again-recover            from-there we-arrive

#### II.

*The-green-valley-approaching the-water-lies-in-pools (fresh) anananti;*  
*His-Limbs-Without*           one-bearing-another from-there we-arrive  
*His-Eyes-Without*           one-bearing-another from-there we-arrive  
*Water* where-appears *Medicine* where-appears from-there we-arrive  
 With-this your-limbs        again-recover            from-there we-arrive  
 With-this your-eyes        again-recover            from-there we-arrive<sup>1</sup>.

Here the lines of the two stanzas are antithetical and in the same order. The next two lines of the two stanzas are, in relation to each other, in transposed order. In the fourth line of the second stanza there is transposition within the line itself. *Water* evidently is associated with the second of the twins and *medicine* with the first. The order of the last two lines of the first stanza is transposed in the second stanza because the previously stated order of the brothers has been transposed above

<sup>1</sup> M. A. F. L. S., V, p. 261.

<sup>1</sup> M. A. M. N. H. VI, p. 291.

in the second and third lines. Here, consequently, out of a very logical arrangement of details, the Navajos have built up a comparatively complex although still entirely parallelistic decorative arrangement.

The one hundred and fifty odd Navajo songs with which I am familiar show only slight variation from these accepted Navajo poetic forms. Parallelism in its simpler forms is always present, with occasionally a drift toward some elaboration according to traditional methods. Antithetical or incremental parallelism builds the stanza, and stanza after stanza is patterned according to the accepted formulae. Narrative may wrench the exact balance, but is reduced to some similar balance. Indeed Navajo song composition is very like the old Navajo blankets where the line of color on one end balanced the line, usually of the same color, on the other end.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

A CHINESE "BOY WHO COULD NOT LEARN TO TREMBLE". In the province of Wu Beck there is a house called the "Mandarin House", visited now by many who are interested in the ghost story connected with it. It was at one time haunted. Everyone who tried to live in it or to stay in it even for one night was found either dead or insane. A group of young men were once making bets about it when one happy-go-lucky boy volunteered to spend the night in the house — the award to be five hundred dollars. He piled a large number of bricks on the shelf built for ancestral tablets, and with a copy of the *Yeat Keng* of Confucius, a sure guard against ghosts, retired behind the bricks. He lay awake for hours listening; came twelve o'clock, two o'clock, and no sound. He prepared to laugh at his companions. Then he heard a sound and saw a pair of eyes like two live coals. One by one he threw the books at the ghost as it tried to climb up to the shelf but it dodged them all. Finally he threw the book and it landed in the opposite corner of the room. As a last resort the boy bit his finger, sucked the blood, and spat it at the ghost. This had its effect. The ghost fell over moaning, begging the boy for forgiveness, and promising never to molest another person if only he would release him. So the boy descended and, having extracted a solemn promise from the ghost to go about his own business in future, he washed all the blood off him and in return received a piece of paper which he could not read until morning. Then the ghost disappeared. In the morning when the boys entered the room expecting to find him dead since they had heard the bricks thrown during the night, to their surprise they saw him radiant, reading the paper. It told him to go into the yard and dig under a tree where lay a great treasure, and it revealed the burial of a great mandarin under certain boards in the floor of the house. They discovered the spot and found that the sun at a certain hour of the day shone through the transom of the skylight, lit the spot and thus released the mandarin's ghost. The remains were moved and no more trouble ever came to that house.

MARGARET TREADWELL.

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## BOOK REVIEWS.

WITCHCRAFT IN OLD AND NEW ENGLAND, by George Lyman Kittredge.  
Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. 1929. \$ 6.00.

Professor Kittredge's long-awaited volume on English witchcraft fulfills the most enthusiastic hopes. It is definitive, charming, and thoroughly documented. Garnered from parish court records, from canonical reports and all out-of-the-way sources, and amplified by all the pertinent literature and history of that day, it is a book which, even though it stood by itself alone, gives to the researches of the antiquarian a valid place in the sun.

The book is arranged in more or less independent chapters, a few of which are already familiar from previous publication. About half are straightforward presentation of incident. These are the chapters on Image Magic, Madness, Curses and the Elfshot, Venefica, Charms Ghoulish and Profane, Wind and Weather, the Witch in the Dairy, Metamorphosis, Mirrors and Thieves, Treasure Trove, Haunted Houses and Haunted Men, The Seer, Cold Water (trial by swimming). The details in these chapters are presented almost without thesis, as a record of English customs from the earliest times, and they run up to the imprisonment of a woman in Pennsylvania in 1909 for practicing upon her neighbor's dairy.

They are delightful reading, for with all deference to Professor Kittredge's interest in his main thesis, we cannot help knowing that he is equally in love with picturesque detail for its own sake. And the realm of witchcraft is rich subject matter for anyone with an eye for such delights. There is the definition of paganism in the Laws of Cnut; "To worship heathen gods, or sun or moon, fire or wood, wells or stones or trees of any kind, or to love witchcraft or to work secret murder in any wise, or to practise anything in the way of sacrifice or soothsaying or such delusions." There are the minutiae that recreate for us the sorcerer's procedure, as when the witches acknowledge receipt from their employers of "a piece of red cloth, 7 pounds of wax, 60 needles and a halfpenny's worth of pins." There is the testimony of the sorcerer to whom the heavens opened "the space of 4 broad barnne doors"; and the rite for the woman all of whose previous children had died: she was to take earth from the grave of her dead children, wrap it in wool, and sell it to some merchant, repeating this spell, "I sell it; and may ye sell it; this black wool and the grains of this sorrow." It is never picturesqueness for picturesqueness' sake — as when Professor Kittredge does not give at all the famous St. Peter toothache charm, but gives instead four pages of notes in fine print — but no one with an appreciation of vivid and desperate remedies, of the uncensored workings of love and hate, can do better than to read the tales collected in this volume.

There is however a thesis and an important one. The chapters which contain it have been written more or less independently so that it is approached from different angles and some of the same illustrations appear in different connections. This thesis concerns itself, in anthropological phrasing, with establishing the distributions of certain witch traits. This leads Professor Kittredge to combat general opinion on four specific points: that witchcraft was introduced into England at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign by the re-

turning Marian exiles, notably Bishop Jewell; that English witchcraft cults were organized survivals of aboriginal paganism; that James I was the prime mover in the witchcraft excitement of his period; and that the Salem witchcraft was a unique and exceptional lunacy. All these contentions follow clearly from the facts of distribution, both in time and in space, as they are brought out by the detailed research.

1. From the earliest Anglo Saxon times the charges against those who were held as witches were of specific injuries, the killing of men and cattle, the infliction of disease, and so on. Until the very last decades of English witchcraft — long past Elizabeth's time — this changed in no particular. The only important importation of witchcraft ideas from the continent, that of the compact with the devil and the witch's sabbath, came after all the Marian exiles were dead and buried, and these ideas hardly even at that got a foothold on English soil. They belonged to the continent, and their reflection in English custom and belief is late and unimportant.

2. It was these two continental beliefs that were the backbone of the picture of witchcraft as an organized cult. It has been claimed, most recently by Miss Murray in her "Witch Cult of Western Europe", that witchcraft is to be understood as the survival of a pagan ritual, of orgiastic mysteries of a pre-Christian time, and that the witches constituted an organized "church" with institutional background. Professor Kittredge shows clearly that certainly for England this was not true. Witches were individual malefactors, and the elaborations that connect them with pagan customs and give them an organized cult are absent in England.

3. James I has figured as the classic witchbaiter of English tradition, but this resolves itself into popular interpretation of the fact that James the First came from Scotland where witchcraft excitement was notorious, and that he wrote the "Daemonologie". The peak of witchcraft persecution in England fell roughly in the fifty years 1575—1625, and James' reign covers the last twenty-two of these. There were no more witch-baitings, no more executions, in his reign than in a similar period of Elizabeth's. The statute passed at the beginning of his rule was the result, not of James' instigation or authorship, but of a growing tide of uneasiness on the subject of witches, a tide quite independent of whatever king or queen was on the throne.

4. The understanding of the Salem witchcraft has suffered as much from the Atlantic Ocean as the cult of colonial antiques. Whether we are studying Massachusetts witchcraft or chairs and tables and doorways, we need to see them not as independent inventions, but as footnotes on the culture of the mother country. The more common reading of them has led us into obvious falsities, as when earnest Colonial gentlemen are made the very fabricators of an entire witchcult which dates in precisely similar form from Anglo Saxon times, or when Puritanism is made the peculiar fertile mother-soil of witchcraft ideology. Again Professor Kittredge points to the facts of the distribution of witchcraft. He shows that, seen against the background of their own times and culture, the extraordinary fact was that no witchcraft excitement developed until 1692, and that it was confined to Salem.

A word should be said about the documentation. No one need ever again gather together concrete material on any of the subjects even remotely touched by Professor Kittredge. More than a third of the volume is given up



to notes which organize the available material in such a way that it will be henceforward at the disposal of further students.

RUTH BENEDICT.

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THE BLACK OX: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF A FOLK-TALE, by Archer Taylor. FF Communications No. 70, Helsinki, 1927.

The most recent of the penetrating studies in folk-lore by Professor Taylor presents to the American student for the first time the results of the careful technique in the investigation of folk-tales which has been worked out by European scholars under the leadership of the Finns. But the work before us is more than a mere application of this method to one more tale; it is more than an exemplification in English of something that has been long known in Finland. The study represents a real forward step in development of the technique of folk-tale research.

The tale chosen for investigation is an extraordinarily simple one, with a very small number of motifs. Moreover, it is confined to purely traditional or popular material. Its distribution is within very narrow limits, hardly extending outside of Finland. But within Finland there are over a hundred versions for comparison. The conditions for a thoroughgoing analytical study are, therefore, unusually favorable. But if the extent is small, both of the tale itself and of the area of distribution, the study is correspondingly heightened in intensiveness. It shows clearly what a stupendous undertaking a thorough study of one of the world-wide tales might be, and it serves as an effective warning against facile conclusions about tales and their origins and distribution.

The study begins with a remarkably lucid presentation of the method employed — perhaps the best statement yet made of the "Finnish Method".<sup>1</sup> The author shows that after the first stage in the study, the bringing together of as large a number of versions as possible, an important task is the analysis of the tales into their component traits or motifs. It is by a well-regulated and thorough study of these traits that the goal of the study is to be reached: a determination of the normal form of the tale, of its general area of origin, of its lines of dissemination, of its changes en route, and (perhaps) of some idea as to its age.

The relation of particular versions of a tale to that abstraction known as the "normal form" must be understood before it is possible with any intelligence to seek to derive the latter from the many variants. On this point, the author says:<sup>2</sup>

"In undertaking the reconstruction we shall examine in turn each incident or trait and seek to establish by comparison its primitive form. After establishing each element in this manner, we may by simple addition of the elements arrive at the outlines of the primitive form of the whole. Each trait will of necessity be either preserved or altered in the process of oral transmission. In the event of its preservation there will of course be no difficulty

<sup>1</sup> For other statements see Aarne (A.), *Leitfaden der Vergleichenden Märchenforschung* (FF Communications No. 13), and Krohn (K.), *Die Folkloristische Arbeitsmethode*, Oslo, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> P. 4.

in the selection of the primitive form, for there is but one to choose. When, however, the episode has been modified in tradition, all its variations — including, of course, its absence, which may represent the original situation — must be collected and examined. These variations will fall into larger and smaller groups and often some will stand quite alone without parallels. Out of these variations it is necessary to select one which exists among them, or to deduce one which is implied by them, as the primitive form. Such a form will not only justify itself as the original, but will also be the basis for explaining the later and varying forms as plausible alterations of the original. Its establishment is the first goal of our efforts, and by its establishment we shall learn much about the origin and dissemination of the tale.”

He shows that it is often not possible to fix upon a normal form directly, but that various local normal forms must be worked out first.<sup>1</sup>

How is a trait to be recognized as belonging to the normal or primitive form? The criteria are well summed up in a sentence where Professor Taylor is anticipating objections:<sup>2</sup>

“Let it be granted at once that a numerical preponderance of a particular trait among the variations does not establish its position in an earlier hypothetical form. Similarly no single criterion affords a compelling reason for the determination of a trait as primitive. The most determinedly hostile critic must, however, concede that a trait which is widely distributed, which appears frequently in the variants, particularly in the fuller and better ones, which is attested at an early period in the tale’s recorded history, which is *per se* old (involving some ancient religious or superstitious idea), which is useful in the tale’s economy, which permits competing forms to be derived from it by some natural and readily explicable alteration or substitution, which yields evidence in agreement with that deducible from other traits, and which shows a development in accord with a known or a probable cultural trend, *must* belong to the earliest ascertainable form of the tale... Granted that the trait meets these requirements, one is *compelled* to accept it as original.”

That all of the criteria are seldom available the author admits, but he feels from his experience in the study of tales that the number of traits about which a safe conclusion cannot be reached is very small.

The way in which the various traits in a tale must be scrutinized in order to determine their relation to the original form is next considered.

“Since we know what changes can occur in the transmission of tales and how these changes can be used to fix the direction of a tale’s development (although as a general principle the change may be from B to A as well as from A to B), we can identify one form as original and another as secondary.”<sup>3</sup>

The author then quotes freely from Professor Krohn:

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<sup>1</sup> He thus meets the objections raised by Dr. C. W. von Sydow and his disciples. See Liljeblad (S.), *Die Tobiasgeschichte und andere Märchen von toten Helfern*, Lund, 1927. In this work insistence is made on the fact that a tale may be resolved in to a number of “oikotypes”, one for each geographical section, and that such should be the goal of folk-tale research.

<sup>2</sup> P. 7.

<sup>3</sup> P. 8.

"All the modifications in the motley structure of *märchen* have arisen in accord with definite laws of thought and fantasy. Among these far from numerous laws may be mentioned: the forgetting of a detail, the acclimatization of a strange and the modernizing of an obsolete object (trait), the generalizing of a special term and the specializing of a general one, the rearranging of the order of events, the confusing of persons or acts, the multiplying, particularly by the numbers 3, 5, and 7 (of persons and things), polyzoism, in which many animals replace a single one, anthropomorphism of animals and its opposite, egomorphism, in which the narrator himself appears as hero, and so on."

A point insisted on by Professor Taylor, and not sufficiently by earlier workers in the field, is the value of negative evidence. Hence, in his tabulation of traits he is very careful to make note of *absences* of traits. Non-existence of a trait, he remarks, is a variation always to be taken into account.

It is impossible in a short space to give such a detailed discussion of the method as will represent the clear-cut statement of the introduction to *The Black Ox*. It must not be thought, however, that the author imagines that he will arrive at the actual original of the tale by the method employed; he will be able only to show that the original form possessed this and that trait. This "original form" or "normal form" is very valuable as a point of departure in discussing the vicissitudes of the tale. It serves much the same purpose as the "starred" Indo-European forms in the study of language.

Only an examination of the main study with its carefully-wrought conclusions can give an idea of the thorough manner in which the theories discussed in the introduction are put into practice.

Folklorists in America owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Taylor for presenting to us so clearly this method of folk-tale study, which is being more and more widely adopted by European scholars. The method may well be employed outside the special field of Europe and Asia, to which it has thus far been confined. It may also be used as a basis for the restudy of the popular ballads. The great collectors and annotators of the past have brought together a large amount of material, and they have made many comparisons, often implying principles involved in the present method. But, as Professor Taylor has pointed out in a recent article<sup>1</sup>, it remained for the Finnish scholars to formulate these well attested principles into a definite scholarly discipline. The study of the tale and the ballad need no longer be the random matter it has too frequently been in the past. With this method applied to a large number of tales, we may at last reach a place where we can again, this time on a reasonably safe basis, theorize as to the history of folk-tales and ballads. And meantime these very studies will undoubtedly bring much to light about lines of transmission, influences, even migrations of peoples, that are now hidden from the eyes of the historian.

It is fortunate that this study in English will again call to the attention of the English-speaking reader the notable series of folk-lore studies of which it is a part. Since their inception, a score of years ago, the FF Communications have appeared in more than seventy monographs on folk-lore written in French, German, or English. Perhaps the majority of them have had to do with the tale. Of those, three main kinds of study have appeared. First,

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, XXV (1928), 481.



a classification of tales (recently revised) served as a basis for surveys of tales in various countries. Then, some ten or twelve such surveys have appeared, making it possible to save days in searching collections. Finally a number of studies of particular tales, some of them models of scholarship, have appeared in the series. It is unfortunate that so many important American libraries have failed to subscribe for this fundamental aid in folklore study.

As contributor of one of the brilliant studies of folktales in this series, Professor Taylor is to be congratulated on the lucidity and thoroughness of his monograph, which marks a real advance in the progress of folk-tale research.

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**KINGSHIP.** Hocart, A. M. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York City. 1927.

Mr. Hocart attempts to analyze the elements of the complex of the sacred king, a culture trait which he believes to be historically related wherever found, in the Pacific Islands or in Great Britain. Choosing his illustrations somewhat at random, he reconstructs a possible and highly complicated picture of the original complex of sacred kingship, an ancestral picture to which all later forms are to be referred. The book contains some valuable new concrete data from Fiji and Ceylon, and an interesting discussion of cultural decadence.

**HOLIDAYS.** Lloyd Champlin Eddy. 1929. The Christopher Publishing House. Boston.

**HOLIDAYS** is a reference book which contains data arranged in two ways on the principal holidays the world over. The chronological preface gives the excuses which might be cited for declaring any day of the year a holiday. There follow chapters in which types of special days are discussed: birthdays, political and historical holidays, holidays whose beginnings were religious and have lost the religious significance, and Saints' Days which may still be wholly religious or only days of secular recreation. The work is broad in its scope including holiday customs in all parts of the world.

G. A. R.

**PAUL BUNYAN COMES WEST.** Ida Virginia Turney with illustrations by Helen Rhodes. 1928. Houghton Mifflin Co. Boston. \$ 1.25.

This slim but handsome book contains more of the always delightful exaggerations and exploits of the hero of the logging camps. In a few graphic words the author relates the circumstances which led to the origin of Old Faithful in Yellowstone Park, the scratch in the landscape now called the Grand Canyon, the falls of the Skomackaway River, Mt. Ranier and other natural phenomena of the West, west of "Dakoty", that is.

The Blue Ox, Babe, which was forty axe handles and a plug o' terbacker between the eyes, is the protagonist of the tale and his innocent perambulations have incredible results. The most striking features of the yarn are: the utter disregard of time and space — an unexpected detour of nine hundred miles set Paul back a whole day of his snowshoe journey; matter-

of-factness — Paul sent a man for a grindstone with a note on which a circle was drawn as a message, he returned with a cheese and Paul blamed himself for forgetting to put a hole in the drawing; and exaggerated imaginativeness — Paul once got buried in the sawdust from his own saw because he was so interested, he hauled a glacier down from Alaska to dig the Hood Canal. Resourcefulness was perhaps the outstanding characteristic of Paul's nature; when he had no railroad spikes to shoot, he tore icicles off the glacier with which to kill a polar bear.

The book has an elegant format, the paper simulates woodpulp, the margins are wide, the fullpage illustrations and head and tail pieces are linoleum cuts. The illustrations are, to my mind, somewhat too complicated and pretentious for the text. Scenes conceived with fewer and simpler lines would I think be more in keeping with the matter-of-fact tone of the narrator. Altogether this is an attractive gift book which cannot fail to give pleasure.

G. A. R.

JOHN HENRY. By Guy B. Johnson 155 pages. Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press. 1929. \$ 2.00.

The day of abstract, theoretical discussion of folk-song passes. Time was when those who wrote "authoritatively" of the subject did so from armchairs in their libraries. They liked to refer in a large way to "the ballads," not to individual ballads. They cared little for the citation of specific texts from specific times. An interregnum, for the exploration of the history of individual songs, should be welcome. Such an era seems to lie just ahead. The future promises to see many investigations of selected traditional songs, current in special times and places among special folk-groups. It will be time for scholars to resume generalization when many such studies have been made.

The book of a hundred and fifty pages entitled *John Henry* and subtitled "Tracking Down a Negro Legend", the work of Guy B. Johnson, deals with a specific group of songs, and it is a piece of work that may well serve as a model of research. The author will be remembered as a collaborator with Howard W. Odum in a work on the folk-song of the Negro, reviewed in these columns, and bearing, like *John Henry*, the imprint of the University of North Carolina Press. The author divides the innumerable songs concerning his title character into pieces of the work-song type, or "hammer songs," and narrative songs or ballads, telling of John Henry's great contest and death. The hero of these songs, a "steel driving man", who "dies with his hammer in his hand," is the Negro Kwasind, the strong man. His fame has been kept alive by Negro singers for more than fifty years. He is a great folk character in whom they believe. John Henry's ancestry may be unknown and his reality disputed, but his hold on the mind of Negro singers is amazing. He is their idol, much as Paul Bunyan is the favorite of the loggers. But while the legends centering about John Henry are vivid and fascinating, they are not bizarre and fantastic, like those centering about Paul Bunyan. The latter remains mythical to those recounting his exploits. John Henry is believed in.

Some of the problems that the investigator of the John Henry songs has sought to solve are these. Has the legend that John Henry beat the steam drill, "flesh against machine," a basis in a real contest, and if so where did the contest take place? He inquires also into the relation of the John Henry

and the John Hardy songs. John Hardy has been shown by Professor J. H. Cox to have been an authentic person, a real steel driver. The conclusion is reached, after careful investigation, that John Hardy and John Henry are not identical, as seemed probable before all the evidence came in. Apparently the John Hardy songs are of later growth. Other questions raised concern the diffusion of the songs and the part played in their migrations by printed versions. A facsimile of an old printed version — the place of which in the growth of the legend the author tries to fix — forms the frontispiece of the book.

In following the trail that allures him, the investigator importuned strangers, he says, to tell what they knew of John Henry, he held John Henry contests in numerous Negro high schools and colleges, he had the help of Negro editors, and he sought John Henry data by means of stories, contests, and advertisements in the Negro press. In his investigations of the Big Ben tunnel in West Virginia, where many versions of the songs localize the story, he enlisted the testimony of Negroes and whites, and of engineers and railroad men. He seems to have left no stone unturned in his efforts to determine the authenticity of his hero and to follow the history of the songs that glorify him.

Mr. Johnson is "not one of those who believe that folk-lore studies must be dull to be scientific." His book is scientific, a model of investigation, but it is fascinating reading as well.

LOUISE POUND.

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#### CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

WONDER TALES FROM BALTIC WIZARDS. Frances Jenkins Olcott, illustrations by Victor G. Candell. 1928. Longmans, Green and Co. New York. \$ 2.00.

THE JOLLY TAILOR. Lucia Merecka Borski and Kate B. Miller, illustrations by Kazimar Klepacki. 1928. Longmans, Green and Co. New York. \$ 2.00.

CASTLES IN SPAIN AND OTHER ENCHANTMENTS. Bertha L. Gunterman, illustrations by Mahlon Blaine. 1928. Longmans, Green and Co. New York. \$ 2.50.

Educators and parents of the present day are hard put to it in selecting books of interest to children. The book that fascinates one child will bore another. One book is too old for a certain child of nine, too young for another. Since many believe that any wellwritten book will do for children as well as for adults perhaps the best grownups can do is to turn the children loose where they may find and read books of various content and styles so they may form a judgment of their own.

To this end the three books of Longmans, Green and Co. contribute. The BALTIC WONDER TALES are simply but interestingly written. They contain the wellknown fairy tales in northern dress, not infrequently with a Viking flavor. This is a Bang! Boom! Slap! Bang! sort of Book, all tales beginning with monosyllabic exclamations. This feature of the style seems a bit affected to the adult but the children may like it. The illustrations, carried out in great detail, fit the wizardry and complexity of magic in the tales very nicely.



For one of those children who quietly chuckles at a ridiculous idea or at turn of a phrase comes the story of *THE JOLLY TAILOR*. The humor (and there is much) of these stories depends upon whimsical twists of phrase or situation which constantly surprise the reader and hold his interest. We find here, as well as in the other two books under review, the familiar Grimm plots with localised style and variations, in this case they are Polish.

The illustrations are as amusing as the text. Each one depicts adequately and simply the spirit of the tale it enriches, be it doleful as where the birds separate poppy seeds from gravel with the despairing princess anxiously watching or the jolly tailor himself sewing up a hole in the sky. The latter drawing appeals greatly to one admiring adult.

*CASTLES IN SPAIN* is a book for older children (over ten I should say) and is the duller of the three. Princes, princesses, gorgeous settings, witches, magic, all the fairy tale stock-in-trade are here. Good colored pictures as well as black and white drawings add much to the attractiveness of this book.

The publishers should be congratulated on the beauty of these books. The paper and print are good, margins are wide, reading is easy. The illustrations are, in most cases, suitable, artistic and closely coordinated with the text.

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## NOTES ON THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE TAR-BABY STORY

BY AURELIO M. ESPINOSA.

### I.

#### INTRODUCTION.

I doubt that any single folktale or short story of any kind has attracted more attention and attained greater popularity both among learned scholars and among general readers and listeners than the "wonderful" Tar-baby story published by Joel Chandler Harris in his book "Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings" in 1880. His daughter, Julia Collier Harris, in her book, "The Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris" published in 1918, page 145, has this to say about the story: "Of all the 'Uncle Remus' legends written during twenty-five years and gathered into five separate volumes, the 'Tar-Baby' story is perhaps the best loved. Father received letters about this story from every quarter of the civilized world. Missionaries have translated it into the Bengali and African dialects; learned professors in France, England, Austria, and Germany have written, suggesting clues as to its source; it has been used to illustrate points in Parliamentary debates, and has been quoted from pulpits and in the halls of Congress."

When Uncle Remus was published it was thought that most of the stories were of Afro-American source. They were thought to be part of the creative contribution of the American Negro to the folklore of the world. Why his famous tar-baby story reached such extraordinary popularity immediately after its publication in 1880, and why immediately scholars began to comment upon it and study its sources may be explained from the intrinsic worth of the tale itself, the interest that folklorists saw in the stick-fast motif, Brer Rabbit being stuck fast at five points, front feet, back feet and head. But why a similar story, another extraordinary version of the tar-baby story, with the same stick-fast motif, a witch being caught fast at five points on a horse smeared with tar, a Lithuanian folktale published in 1857, twenty-three

years before "Uncle Remus", was not only not popular but has been unknown to all those who have discussed the problem of the tar-baby story is very much of a mystery. This Lithuanian version published by August Schleicher in 1857 was discovered for me last year by my research assistant, Mr. John Reid.

In 1920 The American Folk-Lore Society sent me to Spain to collect folktales. We had collected and published a large number of American-Spanish folktales and the problem of their source often presented great difficulties on account of the fact that we did not possess abundant collections of peninsular Spanish folktales. The three hundred folktales of my Spanish collection have been already published in three volumes and a fourth volume, a comparative study of the materials, is now being prepared.<sup>1</sup> Among other interesting materials I found a splendid version of the tar-baby story. This Spanish version I have had since 1920 as the first European version of the tar-baby story known to any one, and a version that had already proved erroneous the guess made by Joseph Jacobs that the tale would not be found in Europe. But now I have two European versions, my own Spanish version and the Lithuanian version of Schleicher.

In 1880 when Joel Chandler Harris first published his tar-baby version no one knew or remembered the story from Lithuania published by Schleicher twenty-three years before. No European versions were known, therefore, and in view of other Anglo-African and African versions that were soon discovered by those who looked for them, the story was accepted generally as an African tale. Very ingenious statements were made by some writers attempting to show that the folktale in reality depicted the character and spirit of the African race. There are some who believe yet that the story is of African origin. The first one who made a definite scholarly attempt to show that the majority of the tales of Uncle Remus were from European and ultimately Oriental sources was Mr. A. Gerber in 1893.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gerber did not include the tar-baby story among those of European or Oriental sources because he could not find a single parallel to it from the old world. Apparently he knew nothing of the India versions, one of which had been already made known to scholars, Jataka 55, by Joseph Jacobs in 1888.<sup>3</sup> Jacobs made a careful analysis and comparison of Chandler's tar-baby story from North Carolina and the Jataka 55 version, the tale of the demon with sticky

<sup>1</sup> See JAFL XXXIV, 127—142. The three volumes of the tales already published appeared in 1923—1926. See Appendix II, General Bibliography, under Cuentos.

<sup>2</sup> In JAFL VI, 245—257.

<sup>3</sup> In *The Earliest English Version of the Fables of Bidpai*, London, 1888, Introduction xlv-xlvi. See also his edition of *Caxton's Aesop*, London, 1889, vol. I, 113 and 136—137; *Indian Fairy Tales*, London, 1892, 9; and *ibid*, 1910, 194—198, and 251—253.



hair to which Buddha, as a valiant young prince, became stuck at five points, and came to the conclusion that the tale was originally of Hindu source. He suggested that the primitive tale travelled from India to Africa and from Africa to America and other lands. Later he has maintained the same theory and has even suggested the ingenious idea that Brer Rabbit of the African and American versions is Buddha himself, in view of the fact that Buddha was often venerated as a hare in the moon because having once done a great deed of sacrifice as a hare, as narrated in one of the Jatakas, he was translated to the moon.<sup>1</sup>

The cardinal point of Mr. Jacob's theory, namely, that the tar-baby story was not of African but Hindu origin seemed to some absolutely conclusive. Scholars have not been satisfied, however, with his theory that the tar-baby versions of America are of African source. In the meantime versions of the tar-baby story have been found from various parts of the world. The tale is well known in all parts of Spanish-America. The folklore of Spanish-America appears to be for the most part of Spanish source. Of this we have been more than convinced after the folklore expedition to Spain. Professor Boas, Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons and I have become convinced that the folklore of Spanish-America is fundamentally and principally of peninsular Spanish origin. The Indian and Negro influences are negligible in our Spanish Southwest and in most of Spanish South America. In Central America and Mexico the Indian influence is not negligible but not especially prominent. On the other hand Spanish-American tradition of European source has greatly influenced the folklore of the Negro and Indian.<sup>2</sup>

In an article published in 1914<sup>3</sup> I insisted on the peninsular Spanish origin of the New Mexican Spanish and other American-Spanish versions of the tar-baby story. At that time I had the firm conviction that the story would be found in Spain. I did find it, as I have already stated.

Professor Boas, in his *Notes on Mexican Folk-Lore*<sup>4</sup>, came to conclusions similar to mine. He suggested that the Hispanic forms of the

<sup>1</sup> Indian Fairy Tales, 1910 edition, 252.

<sup>2</sup> See Boas, *Notes JAFL*, XXV 247—260, and *Romanic Review* XVI, 199—207, Parsons, in *JAFL*, XXXI, 216—265, and Espinosa in *JAFL*, XXVII, 211—231. See also the valuable observations of Dr. Parsons in the introductory chapters to her various publications on Portuguese and Anglo-African folklore. The presence of European folklore influences in the materials published from Andros Island, South Sea Islands and other regions of Anglo-Africa in America is not extraordinary for these peoples have been in contact with Spanish and other European peoples since their migration to America. Even the Medieval tale of the three hunchbacks, of Oriental source of course, is well known among the American Negroes. See Parsons, *South Sea Islands* 77. Such a well known Spanish folktale as that of my *Cuentos* 208 is found in Harris 2, II.

<sup>3</sup> *JAFL*, XXVII, 211—232.

<sup>4</sup> *JAFL*, XXV, 204—260.

story could have come to America from two sources. On the one hand, the Spanish colonizers could have brought them directly from Spain, and on the other hand the African negroes that came to America could have brought them from African regions that had been colonized by the Spanish and Portuguese since the early XVIth century.<sup>1</sup> In 1919 Dr. Parsons published an article in "Folk-Lore" suggesting that in view of the fact that in two Portuguese versions from the Cape Verde Islands the tar-baby episode appears attached to the tale of the master-thief so well known since Herodotus, it was probable that the tar-baby story had come from India to Europe attached to the tale of the master-thief.<sup>2</sup> In both of the European versions of the tar-baby story we find the tar-baby episode attached to other tales. It is logical to suppose that this episode has been transmitted as part of the tale of the master-thief, which tale has actually a thief-catching episode with a bucket of tar. Dr. Parsons also suggested that if the story was originally of Hindu source it could have travelled to Africa directly from Asia or indirectly through Spanish and Portuguese source as Professor Boas had suggested before.<sup>3</sup>

In "The Scientific Monthly" for September 1922, there appeared the last defense of the African origin of the tar-baby story by Dr. Norman Brown of Johns Hopkins University. His article is on the whole a series of affirmations and denials. He has made a study of some fifty-five versions of the tale despite the fact that he easily could have studied over one hundred. When his article was published, some twelve versions had already been published from Spanish-America and he does not mention a single one of them. A very important Portuguese version from Brazil published in 1889 by Santa-Anna Nery, of special interest because it has certain features that are strikingly similar to certain features of the Jataka 55 version, is unknown to Dr. Brown. He compares the Jataka 55 and a few other India versions to the Negro types in a very general and superficial way and rejects the India origin of the tale. Despite the fact that the Jataka 55 version from India may be actually 2000 years old he does not believe that it is a primitive tale. His chief and fundamental error lies in the fact that he confuses the motif of a folktale

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<sup>1</sup> See Boas, Notes, 254. My study of the tar-baby story confirms fully the belief expressed by Dr. Boas in the following words: "Thus it does not seem to me improbable that those particular elements of the rabbit tales which are common to large parts of South America and of Central America, reaching at least as far north as New Mexico and Arizona, and differing in their composition from the Central African tales, are essentially of European origin."

<sup>2</sup> See FL, XXX, 227-234, The Provenience of certain Negro Folk Tales: III, Tar Baby.

<sup>3</sup> See also Dähnhardt, *Natursagen* IV, 27—30.

with the folktale itself.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the tar-baby story I take it that most folklorists agree that the fundamental elements of the tale, the motif, the baustein, is the multiple-point attack and the stick-fast episode together with the dramatic elements involved. Just what other elements of the numerous versions are part of the baustein is for folklorists to determine.<sup>2</sup> But it seems to me that we cannot take very seriously the arguments of one who fails to accept the idea of a definite relation between folktales because certain insignificant details in them are different. The powerful argument that the multiple attack and the stick-fast episode occur in the Jataka version of probably two thousand years ago Dr. Brown calls *argumentum ex silentio*. He concludes that Africa is the original home of the tale in the following language: "And Africa is eminently suited to fill the needs of the situation. First of all it is a plausible center for the story's radiation. Slaves brought it thence to this continent; other Negroes, or perhaps the Uncle Remus books, have taken it to India in modern times, still other Negroes, or possibly Spanish sailors, have planted it in the Phillipines. These are the only people among whom it has yet appeared, to the best of my knowledge, but if it should at some time appear among other peoples, I am confident that it will be easy to uncover its tracks back to Africa."

The opinion expressed by Dr. Brown that the old and modern versions from India are not related to the Uncle Remus version is really quite astonishing, but not more so than the conclusions just read. It is not as easy to "uncover the tracks of the tar-baby story back to Africa" as it is to say that it can be done. To attempt to "uncover the tracks" of the Castilian and Lithuanian versions "back to Africa" is difficult even in our imagination.

For the present study I have brought together and carefully examined all the versions that I could possibly obtain of any type of tale where a man or an animal is caught fast by a tar or wax figure, a figure smeared with any sticky substance or with the sticky substance placed anywhere, provided the tale had some resemblance to the tale that has the multiple attack and catch episode. This method involved a study of some two hundred different folktales, many of which, such as the Medieval versions of the tale of the master-thief, have only an indirect relation to our story. After a process of elimination that seems to me to be strictly scientific there remained one hundred and fifty-two versions that one can certainly accept as genuine versions of the tar-baby story. Of these one hundred and fifty-two versions, one hundred and

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Brown makes exactly the same mistake that Bédier makes in attempting to prove that all the Medieval French fabliaux are of French origin. In the specific case of the tale of the trois bossus, for example, *Les Fabliaux* (4th edition), 236—250, he confuses the baustein of the tale with the actual forms of the versions themselves.

<sup>2</sup> I have tried to do this in Chapter V of my study.



forty eight have practically all the fundamental elements of the baustein of the tar-baby story. The remaining four have only some of the fundamentals, but have most of the secondary elements.<sup>1</sup> The conclusions embodied in the present study are based, therefore, on a detailed statistical examination and study of one hundred and fifty-two versions of the tar-baby story. All the significant elements or episodes of the total number have been reduced to fifty-six, the various versions from the different geographical and racial groups have been carefully studied,

<sup>1</sup> These four versions are the following: two Spanish-American versions, one from Cuba (32), and the other one from Guatemala (44); and two African versions (136, 143). In all four of these versions the play of hands and feet is missing, but there are other important features of the baustein and many important secondary elements. All are from regions where the tar-baby story with all the elements of the baustein occurs and for that reason we have included these that are similar to other versions except in the multiple attack and catch elements.

There are of course many other tales where a thief or evil-doer is caught by traps and sticky objects, but when the versions had none, absolutely none of the elements of the baustein I did not include them in my study. It is quite possible that some of these omitted tales are connected in some way with the tar-baby story, but I did not wish to risk confusion in my method by including doubtful versions. Among those omitted, and somewhat reluctantly, is the Asturian tale of the water-nymph caught fast by a tarred horse, which is certainly related, at least indirectly, with the tar-baby story. I give a resumé of this European tale in Appendix I, 21. Others are Boas, *Indianische Sagen* 214 (four bird-men are caught attacking a tarred whale and die stuck to it); Barbosa Rodrigues 245, Amazonian version, (young hunter pulls tarred tail of the image of an armadillo prepared by the father, and the armadillo comes to life and pulls him down, since he can not release his hand); JAFI, XI, 289—290, North Carolina (greedy crows eat young birds and get their beaks stuck together by sticking them into a tub of tar and wool prepared by the parent birds); Harris 2, XXXI (rabbit caught in a box-trap).

There is, of course, no end to the indirectly related versions. Some begin like genuine tar-baby versions and end in an entirely different manner so they could not be included in our study. The following interesting version from the French Congo appears to be a genuine version with the tar-baby baustein forgotten, *Revue Congolaise*, Paris, 1910, I, 346—353: A partridge and an a leopard build a home together to live in it with their families. The leopards eat the mother partridge and the little ones, so father partridge runs away. He then prepares a rubber-man with feathers and weapons and places it near the house-well. The female leopard appears and speaks to him. He does not reply. They go and bring it into the house and attempt to feed it, but it falls down and rebounds, thus scaring the leopards away.

The tale of the Roman de Renard (ed. Martin Vol. II, 609—698), a bear caught by feet and mouth while seeking honey in a piece of split wood prepared by the fox, I do not believe to be connected with the tar-baby story. See Foulet 333—334.

and the attempt has been made to determine definitely the primitive baustein of the tar-baby story, to discover with precision the character of the geographical and racial groups in view of the special developments that certain secondary features have followed in the evolution of the tale across the ages and in its transmission from one country to another, and lastly, to determine definitely the problem of the origin of the tale.

The one hundred and fifty-two versions of the tar-baby story studied are the following. I have reasons for believing that my bibliography is over 95% complete.<sup>1</sup>

## II

### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE TAR-BABY STORY

#### I

##### *Oriental versions from India — 9*

(1) Jataka 55; (2) Samyutta Nikaya V, 3, 7; (3) Paricistaparvan II, 720—745; (4) Bodding I, 179—185; (5) Ibid. 213—217; (6) Bompas 324—325; (7) Gordon 65—69; (8) Indian Antiquary XX, 29—32; (9) Ibid. XXIX, 399—401.

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<sup>1</sup> The task of bringing together the one hundred and fifty-two versions of the tar-baby story would have been impossible without the assistance of colleagues and friends. It is not possible to record here in detail the assistance so generously given me by colleagues and friends who, in order to help me, have stolen valuable time from their own researches. To mention their names here is to express only a small part of my gratitude for their generous assistance. Copies of versions not accessible to me at Stanford University were sent to me by Professor Boas of Columbia University and by his pupils, Miss Gene Weltfish and Mrs. Margery L. Loeb, by Dr. J. Alden Mason of the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania, by Dr. Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, and by Dr. George V. Bobrinskoy of the University of Chicago. Mr. Manuel J. Adrade of New York and Dr. Herminio Portell Vilá of Havana, Cuba, have sent me manuscript copies of Santo Domingo and Cuban versions. Professor and Mrs. Melville J. Herskovits of Northwestern University have been good enough to send me manuscript copies of the four versions from Dutch Guiana recently collected by them. My colleague Professor Johnston and my research-assistant Mr. Reid of Stanford University have called my attention to some European parallels to the various secondary elements of the tale. And lastly I wish to record especially my deep appreciation for the assistance given me by Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons, who has not only given me bibliographical assistance and counsel, but has sent me eleven manuscript copies of versions of the tar-baby tale recently collected by her, — four Indian versions from Taos, a most valuable and timely contribution, and the seven Lesser Antilles versions.

## II

*European versions — 2*

(10) Schleicher 35—37; (11) Cuentos 35.

## III

*Spanish-American versions — 35*

(12) Andrade 156; (13) Ibid. 157; (14) Ibid. 158; (15) Ibid. 159; (16) Boas, Notes 210—214; (17) Ibid. 235—241; (18) Espinosa III, 7; (19) Espinosa, New Mexico MS; (20) Laval, Cuentos 154—165; (21) Mason-Espinosa PRF I, 21; (22) Ibid. V, 1; (23) Ibid. V, 2; (24) Ibid. V, 3; (25) Ibid. V, 5; (26) Ibid. V, 9; (27) Ibid. V, 13; (28) Ibid. V, 15; (29) Ibid. V, 17; (30) Ibid. V, 21; (31) Portell Vilá 122; (32) Ibid. 123; (33) Ibid. 124; (34) Radin-Espinosa 46; (35) Ibid. 66; (36) Ibid. 85; (37) Ibid. 90; (38) Ibid. 100; (39) Tía Panchita 131—132; (40) JAFL XXV, 200—201; (41) Ibid. XXV, 201—202; (42) Ibid. XXIX, 549—551; (43) Ibid. XXXI, 472; (44) Ibid. XXXI, 473; (45) Ibid. XLIII, 216, (46) ZFE XX, 2, 275.

## IV

*Portuguese versions from Brazil and the Cape Verde Islands — 6*

(47) Parsons, Cape Verde 30; (48) Ibid. 31; (49) Ibid. 33; (50) Pimentel 217—218; (51) Romero 317—318; (52) Santa-Anna Nery 213.

## V

*Version from Orinoco (South-American Indians) — 1*

(53) Koch-Grünberg 47—48.

## VI

*Versions from the Lesser Antilles — 7*

(54) Parsons. Trinidad MS 1; (55) Ibid. 2; (56) Ibid. 3; (57) Parsons, St. Vincent MS; (58) Parsons, St. Lucia MS; (59) Parsons, Martinique MS 1; (60) Ibid. 2.

## VII

*Versions from Dutch Guiana — 4*

(61) Herskovits MS 1; (62) Ibid. 2; (63) Ibid. 3; (64) Ibid. 4.

## VIII

*Phillipine versions — 2*

(65) Fansler 48; (66) JAFL XX, 311—314.

## IX

*American-Indian versions — 23*

(67) Boas, Indianische Sagen 44; (68) Goddard 74—75; (69) Mooney I, 271—272; (70) Ibid. II, 272—273; (71) Parsons, Tewa I, 69; (72) Par-



sons, Taos MS 1; (73) Ibid. 2; (74) Ibid. 3; (75) Ibid 4; (76) Preuss I, 289—290; (77) Sapir, Takelma 86—89; (78) Sapir, Yana 227—228; (79) Speck, Taskigi 149—150; (80) Speck, Yuchi 152—153; (81) FMC VII, 24—25; (82) JAFL VI, 48—49; (83) Ibid. XI, 267—268; (84) Ibid. XXIII, 34; (85) Ibid. XXVI, 5; (86) Ibid. XXVI, 194; (87) Ibid. XXVIII, 218; (88) Ibid. XXVIII, 356; (89) Ibid. XXXVII, 58—59.

## X

### *Anglo-African versions from North America — 36*

(90) Beckwith 21a; (91) Ibid. 21b; (92) Ibid. 21c; (93) Ibid. 59a; (94) Christensen 73—80; (95) Edwards 73; (96) Fauset I, 20, I; (97) Ibid. I, 20, II; (98) Ibid. I, 20, III; (99) Fortier 98—109; (100) Harris 1, 7—11 and 16—19; (101) Jones 7—11; (102) Parsons, Andros 10, I; (103) Ibid. 10, II; (104) Ibid. 10, III; (105) Ibid. 11; (106) Ibid. 12; (107) Parsons, Sea Islands 13; (108) Ibid. 14, I; (109) Ibid. 14, II; (110) Ibid. 15; (111) JAFL XXX, 171; (112) Ibid. XXX, 171—172; (113) Ibid. XXX, 222; (114) Ibid. XXXIV, 4—5; (115) Ibid. XXXIV, 5; (116) Ibid. XXXIV, 53; (117) Ibid. XXXV, 256—257; (118) Ibid. XXXV, 257—258; (119) Ibid. XXXV, 258; (120) Ibid. XXXV, 258—259; (121) Ibid. XXXV, 259—260; (122) Ibid. XLI, 500; (123) Ibid. XLI, 515; (124) Ibid. XLI, 532; (125) Ibid. XLI, 532—533.

## XI

### *African versions — 26*

(126) Bachman 84—86; (127) Barker-Sinclair 69—72; (128) Chatelain 183—189; (129) Cronise-Ward 101—109; (130) Dennet 90—93; (131) Ellis 2, 275—277; (132) Honey 73—78; (133) Ibid. 79—83; (134) Johnston II, 1087—1089; (135) Junod 96—98; (136) Kootz-Kretschmer II, 159—161; (137) Lederbogen 59—60; (138) Meinhoff 18; (139) Ibid. 78; (140) Mitterutzner 13—15; (141) Mockler-Ferryman 288—289; (142) Nassau 18—26; (143) Schultze 477—479; (144) Smith-Dale II, 396—398; (145) Amaury Talbot 397—400; (146) Tremearne 212—214; (147) FL X, 285—286; (148) Ibid. XX, 209—211; (149) Ibid. XX, 443; (150) Ibid. XXVII, 117—118; (151) RTP X, 41—48.

## XII

### *Version from Mauritius — 1*

(152) Baissac 2—14.

## XIII

### STUDY OF THE VERSIONS ACCORDING TO DISTRIBUTION

The results of my study of the above one hundred and fifty-two versions of the tar-baby story from various parts of the world, versions from Old India from 1500 to 2000 years old, modern India versions, European versions from Lithuania and Castile, Spanish-American versions from

New Mexico, Mexico, Central America, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Porto Rico, Cuba and Santo Domingo, Brazilian versions, Portuguese versions from the Cape Verde Islands, Philippine versions, American-Indian versions from North and South America, Anglo-African versions from the Southern States and neighboring English-speaking islands, Jamaica and the Bahamas, versions from the Lesser Antilles and Dutch Guiana, and African versions from Africa and Mauritius, attempting to characterize not only the individual versions but also the versions of the various geographical and racial groups, are most interesting and valuable. Some of the most popular and cherished theories disappear at once upon a very cursory examination of the materials. There is a wide gap, for example, between the Spanish-American versions, which some believe to be of Negro origin, and the Anglo-African versions in the majority of secondary details. The Anglo-African versions are clearly developed under both European and African influences, and the majority of the secondary details of all the versions show clearly their European origin.<sup>1</sup>

Let us first study the one hundred and fifty-two versions according to the geographical and racial groupings already established in the Bibliography, by groups and dominant types as well as by individual versions. We will then have a brief history and catalogue of the various types of versions of the tar-baby story from the earliest to modern times. In tracing the history of the fundamental motif of the tar-baby story across the ages and from country to country I must begin with the oldest known versions, those from India, adding also the modern versions. I will then study the European versions because one of them, the Lithuanian version, was published as early as 1857 and it is the first version of the tar-baby story collected in modern times anywhere.

There are nine versions from India. Two of them are very old. The Jataka 55 tale, the best of the group, was recorded at least fifteen hundred years ago, and from all evidence the work goes back to the beginnings of the Christian era. I give below a brief resumé of the tale, giving in detail only the five-point attack and catch episode:

Once upon a time when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares the Bodhisatta or Buddha was born as his queen's child.

When the prince had come to years of discretion, and was sixteen years old he was sent to study in the town of Takasila. Upon the completion of his education he left for Benares, armed with a set of five weapons which his master had given him.

On his way he came to a forest haunted by an ogre named Hairy-grip, and, at the entrance to the forest, men who met him tried to stop him, saying: "Young brahmin, do not go through that forest; it is the haunt of the ogre Hairy-grip, and he kills every one he

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.

meets." But, bold as a lion, the self-reliant Bodhisatta pressed on, till, in the heart of the forest, he came on the ogre. The monster made himself appear in stature as tall as a palmtree, with a head as big as an arbor and huge eyes like bowls, with two tusks like turnips and the beak of a hawk; his belly was blotched with purple, and the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet were blue-black! "Whither away?" cried the monster. "Halt! you are my prey." "Ogre," answered the Bodhisatta, "I knew what I was doing when entering this forest. You will be ill-advised to come near me. For with a poisoned arrow I will slay you where you stand." And with this defiance, he fitted to his bow an arrow dipped in deadliest poison and shot it at the ogre. But it only stuck on to the monster's shaggy coat. Then he shot another and another, till fifty were spent, all of which merely stuck on to the ogre's shaggy coat. Hereupon the ogre, shaking the arrows off so that they fell at his feet, came at the Bodhisatta; and the latter, again shouting defiance, drew his sword and struck at the ogre. But, like the arrows, his sword, which was thirty-three inches long, merely stuck fast in the shaggy hair. Next the Bodhisatta hurled his spear, and that stuck fast also. Seeing this, he smote the ogre with his club; but, like his other weapons, that too stuck fast. And thereupon the Bodhisatta shouted, "Ogre, you never heard yet of me, Prince Five-Weapons. When I ventured into this forest, I put my trust not in my bow and other weapons, but in myself. Now will I strike you a blow which shall crush you into dust." So saying, the Bodhisatta smote the ogre with his right hand; but the hand stuck fast upon the hair. Then, in turn, with his left hand, and with his right and left feet, he struck at the monster, but hand and feet alike clave to the hide. Again shouting, "I will crush you into dust!" he butted the ogre with his head, and that too stuck fast.

Yet, even when thus caught and snared in fivefold wise, the Bodhisatta, as he hung upon the ogre, was still fearless, still undaunted. And the monster thought to himself, "This is a very lion among men, a hero without peer, and no mere man. Though he is caught in the clutches of an ogre like me, yet not so much as a tremor will he exhibit. Never since I first took to slaying travellers upon this road have I seen a man to equal him. How comes it that he is not frightened?" Not daring to devour the Bodhisatta offhand, he said, "How is it, young brahmin, that you have no fear of death?"

"Why should I?" answered the Bodhisatta. "Each life must surely have its destined death. Moreover, within my body is a sword of adamant, which you will never digest, if you eat me. It will chop your inwards into mincemeat, and my death will involve yours too. Therefore it is that I have no fear." (By this, it is said, the Bodhisatta meant the Sword of Knowledge, which was within him.)



Here on, the ogre fell a-thinking. "This young brahmin is speaking the truth and nothing but the truth," thought he. "Not a morsel so big as a pea could I digest of such a hero. I'll let him go." And so, in fear of his life, he let the Bodhisatta go free, saying, "Young brahmin, you are a lion among men; I will not eat you. Go forth from my hand, even as the moon from the jaws of Rahu, and return to gladden the hearts of your kinsfolk, your friends, and your country."

The Bodhisatta makes the ogre the fairy of the forest, returns to Benares and rules the country as a just king.

This Jataka story is beyond all doubt one of the primitive tar-baby stories par excellence. Its relation to the other India versions, to the European versions and to the American versions discussed later is absolutely definite. The five-point attack and stick-fast episode at five points on the giant with the sticky hair is the fundamental motif or baustein of the story as it is in the other versions. The numerous versions from various parts of the world that have a two, three, four, five or six-point attack with the corresponding stick-fast episode have also this fundamental motif. In our Jataka version the one caught fast at five points is a man, Prince Buddha. It is likewise a man in the two European versions, in three Spanish-American versions, two Portuguese versions from the Cape Verde Islands, three Anglo-African versions, in the Orinoco Indian version, and in one African version, thirteen in all, or 9% of the total. The one caught fast is a monkey instead of a man in two versions from India, in six Hispanic versions, the two versions from the Philippines, one Dutch Guiana version, and one African version, twelve in all, or 8% of the total. Buddha is born as a monkey in eleven of the five hundred and forty-seven Jatakas or Buddha birth stories. The identification of Buddha or the Prince of the Five Weapons with a monkey is therefore quite logical, and the relation of the Jataka 55 version and other tales where the one caught fast is a man with the versions in which a monkey is caught is quite evident.<sup>1</sup> As for the identification of the rabbit of the African and American versions with Buddha, Jacobs has already pointed out that in latter Buddhism the Bodhisatta is frequently honored as a hare or rabbit, and he has also pointed out that the Buddhistic influence in African religion and folklore is quite strong.<sup>2</sup>

The five-point attack and the stick-fast episode at the same five points, serially, with the dramatic elements of the initial attack and subsequent threats as the catch at each point occurs, constitute the most important, fundamental elements of the baustein of the tar-baby story.

<sup>1</sup> See Fansler 337. Of course I do not agree with Fansler in the opinion that the Philippine tar-baby versions are of direct India source.

<sup>2</sup> Indian Fairy Tales, 252—253.

This means that elements 25, 30 and 31 (or 31, 32, 33 and 34 combined) cannot be omitted. The exact statistics for these elements are the following: The reason for the beginning of the attack on the tar-figure is the fact that it will not reply, salute or get out of the way when told to do so (element 25) in 102 or 67% of the total number of 152 versions; the dramatic monologue that begins after the catch at the first point, "If you dont let go of my right hand I'll hit you with my left hand, etc." (element 30) occurs in 119 or 78% of the total; and the extraordinary multiple-point attack and catch in 136 or 90% of the total. An actual five-point attack and catch as in Jataka 55, in the other two Old India versions (2, 3), and in the two European versions (10, 11), occurs in 60 or 39% of the total number of versions.

The version from the Samyutta Nikaya (2) is even older than the Jataka version. It is two thousand years old. It is a little different from the versio princeps of the Jataka but it is certainly related to it. It is merely another ancient Hindu version of the tar-baby story. It is a monkey that is caught. Briefly the tale is as follows:

In a certain place in the Himalayas hunters used to place sticky plasters on the paths of monkeys to catch them. The wise monkeys, those that had control over their senses, avoided them; but when a foolish monkey passed by, one that had no control over his senses, he would seize the plaster with his hand and thus would be caught. Then thinking thus, "I will liberate my hand," he would seize the plaster with his second hand and thus would be caught. Then thinking again, "I will liberate both of my hands," he would push the plaster with one foot and that would be caught. Desiring then to liberate both hands and his foot, he would push the plaster with his second foot and this would also be caught. Finally thinking, "I will liberate both hands and feet," he would seize the sticky plaster with his mouth and this too would be caught. Thus caught at five points he would be taken by the hunters and killed.

The Jataka version Dr. Brown rejects because the one caught is a man and because the giant with the sticky hair is not a mere tar-baby as in Uncle Remus. Also because the escape is by a "bald and rather unconvincing bluff." But the Uncle Remus version is not the versio princeps of the tar-baby versions by any means, some of the best versions having a man or monkey caught and not a rabbit; and as for the escape, the facts of the matter are that in many a version there is no escape at all. The man or animal caught fast escapes alive in 116 or 76% of all the versions. In 26 or 17% of the versions it is specifically stated that the man or animal caught fast is killed. The figures are significant only for India (four versions or 44%), Europe (two or 100%), Cape Verde Islands (three or 100%), American Indians (6 or 23%). The Samyutta Nikaya version Dr. Brown rejects because it is a plain moral tale designed to show that "he who is ensnared by sin is held ever

tighter and tighter until at last he is destroyed." No matter what its purpose may be the fact remains that the five point attack and catch is there. The whole episode is so extraordinary and the similarity of the implied dramatic monologue with that of the Jataka 55 version is so striking that to me there is absolute evidence of a genetic relation.

There is a third ancient Hindu version, though not so old as the other two. The twelfth century version from Hemachandra's *Paricistaparvan* (3) is the following:

After a bloody quarrel between two monkeys over the females, the older of the two retires covered with wounds and completely exhausted. He comes to a rock from which bitumen is oozing. He begins to lick it thinking that it is water and his face sticks to it. He then tries to free his face and touches the bitumen with his hands, one after the other, and these stick also. Then he tries to free himself by touching the bitumen with his two feet and these stick also. There he remains and perishes miserably. The text ends thus: "In like manner sensual lust laying hold of man by one of his senses is sure to ruin his entire soul."

The relation to the version from the *Samyutta Nikaya* is clear even in the moral. It is indeed striking that the three Old India versions have the five-point attack and catch and the dramatic monologue fully developed. Apparently the baustein of the tar-baby story was well known in India two thousand years ago.

From India I have brought together also six modern versions. Five of them are clearly related to the ancient versions. The first version by Bodding (4) begins with a series of incidents about a jackal and a hen who were friends. Finally the jackal eats the hen and leaves the chicks orphans. He tries to eat the chicks also but they play several tricks on him and escape: he is burned in a fire-place like the wolf of the familiar wolf and seven kids story, the ants bite off some of his skin. Then he eats carp and they pass through him and come out whole leaving holes in his buttocks. To patch up the holes he goes to a shoemaker, but the shoemaker also covers up his anus. He then goes to a blacksmith and a hole is made with a hot poker. This incident is probably related to the hot poker punishment of the substitute animal of the Spanish-American versions.<sup>1</sup> The tar-baby episode comes at the end. A brief resumé follows:

The jackal then went to the village to eat fowls and the inhabitants ran away. But one old woman did not run away. She hid in the pigsty. When the jackal arrived he chased the fowls for all he was worth. He chased a cock to the pigsty where the old woman was hiding and when he saw her he asked her to catch it for him. She refused and he caught the cock himself, and then with a spice-

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, 38 and 46.



roller he knocked out all her teeth. Then he asked her to say *toyo*, but since she had no teeth she said *hoyo*. This pleased the jackal very much.

When the villagers heard what the jackal had done, they made a wax-woman resembling the old woman and placed her in the street. The jackal arrived singing and when he caught sight of the wax-woman he cried out to her, "Have a care, old woman! Get out of the way for me! Why have you blocked the road for me? Yesterday I knocked your teeth out. Are you not afraid? Beware! Get out of the way! If you don't I'll kick you and fix you in no time." She did not get out of the way and he kicked her. His foot stuck. Then the jackal said, "Take care, old woman! Let me go! Oh, mother, this old woman has caught hold of me! You unspeakable old woman, if you don't let me go, I shall give you a slap now." He gave her a slap and his paw stuck. Then the jackal said, "Oh, mother, this old woman has caught hold of my hand." And he slapped with the other paw and that stuck also. And when both his feet were stuck he exclaimed, "Oh, mother, this unspeakable old woman, she has caught hold of all my hands and feet! Take care, old woman, and let me go; otherwise I shall bite you." He bit her and his teeth also stuck to the wax.

The villagers then ran up and killed the jackal with a battle-axe.

This modern India version has all the fundamental elements of the baustein: the initial "no reply" and not getting out of the way formula, the attack and catch at five points, and the dramatic monologue and accompanying threats are especially well developed. If we substitute a rabbit for a jackal and add the substitution episode, this version would be very similar to some of the best Spanish-American versions. The destroyer-thief and bully is killed in this version as in the two European versions. In 26 or 17% of the total number of 152 versions the one caught by a tar-baby is actually killed.

The second version by Bodding (5) is a fragmentary version of the first one.

Every day a jackal asked an old woman for a fowl. Her sons prepared an old woman of wax to catch him. The jackal arrives drumming with a twig he picked up on the way. He asks the wax-woman for a fowl and receiving no reply he throws the drumstick at her. It sticks to her. Then he runs up and kicks her and is caught by the leg. The sons find the jackal well caught, disentangle him, cram him with sand and allow him to escape. Then comes the hot poker incident.

In this version some details are lacking, but it is evidently related to the others, especially to (4) as we have stated. The attack and catch are at one point only, evidently an omission of the narrator. The throwing of the drum-stick at the wax-woman and its sticking to the wax is

apparently another version of the fifty arrows that stick to the giant with the sticky hair in the Jataka 55 version. We shall see this incident in other forms later.

The Bompas version (6) is also another form of the first version of Bodding (4). The initial adventures of the jackal and the hen and the hen and the chicks are lacking. Also the hot poker episode.

The jackal goes about destroying houses and eating all the chickens of a village. He meets an old woman and knocks out her teeth. The villagers make an image of an old woman, cover it with bird lime and place it in the street. The jackal appears and says, "Get out of my way. I knocked your t $\ddot{e}$ eth out yesterday and now I am going to kick you." He kicks with one foot and it sticks. He then strikes with the right hand and that sticks also. He strikes with his left hand and that also sticks. He then bites and his teeth and mouth stick. The villagers then come out and beat him to death.

The Gordon version (7) has a jackal caught by a wax-woman with movable hands and a basket of fruit to lure him. This tar-baby, usually female, with fruit, cakes or some other food, in a basket or in her hands appears in many other versions from other regions, and is especially important in the Lesser Antilles version where it occurs in five or 71% of the versions. The dramatic elements are lacking in the Gordon version and there is no multiple attack and catch. The jackal is caught all at once and that is all. He is found caught and is given a good beating. He is kept a prisoner, however, and a short time afterwards when another jackal passes by and asks why he is all swollen he says that it is because he is so fat from eating. He then induces the other jackal to take his place and get plenty to eat. Substitution takes place and the second jackal gets a good beating also. In this single case of substitution in the India versions, we have a definite and rather striking case of similarity between the India and Spanish-American versions. Substitution is the predominant feature of the Spanish-American versions. It occurs in 60% of the versions, and only in 14 and 8% respectively in the Anglo-African and African versions.

The version from the Indian Antiquary (8) is similar to many of the Spanish-American and Anglo-African versions, except that a fox is caught instead of a rabbit. In this version the fox is a thief who had been stealing garden produce, there is the initial "no reply" formula and the attack and catch are at five points with the usual dramatic monologue. The man who had set up the tar-baby then allows the fox to escape when the fox promises to marry him to the king's daughter. This incident may be a primitive form of the characteristic, "They wish to marry me to the king's daughter," and the "take my place" episode of the Spanish-American versions, isolated incidents that occur in many other tales of European origin.<sup>1</sup> In Fansler's Philippine version (65)

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 43.

the liberated monkey actually manages to marry his master to a king's daughter, just as in many of the European tales a grateful animal or clever servant succeeds in obtaining for his master the hand of a princess.

Our last India version (9) lacks some of the fundamental elements of the baustein. A jackal is caught with a tar-doll buried in the ground. The jackal digs the ground to get it and is caught as he handles it. Some details are evidently lacking, there being no mention of the play of hands and feet. It is a poor fragmentary version of the tar-baby story.

Our nine India versions present a very simple and primitive pattern of the tar-baby story with the fundamental elements of the baustein that is found in the majority of the versions from all countries. The multiple attack and corresponding multiple catch are very well developed, as well indeed as in any of the best modern versions from Africa or America. The initial "no reply" formula is the predominant reason for the beginning of the attack (33%), and the dramatic monologue has become fixed, the threats of Prince Buddha of the Jataka 55 version of fifteen hundred years ago having become a fixed type of dramatic dialogue. The "no reply" formula occurs in 102 or 67% of all the versions, and it is especially well defined in the Spanish-American and Lesser Antilles versions, 83 and 86%, respectively, as against 56 and 54%, respectively in the Anglo-African and African versions. The dramatic monologue occurs in 119 or 78% of the total number of versions.

The India versions, both old and modern, have all the fundamental elements of the baustein of the tar-baby story as any one can see from the previous discussion and analysis of the various versions, the multiple-point attack and catch (five-point in four or 44% of the versions), the initial "no reply" formula, the dramatic monologue with the threats repeated after each catch, etc. But the India versions contain also some of the secondary elements of the modern versions, namely the incident of the marrying of the king's daughter, the substitution or the "take my place" incident, and the special allurement of a basket of sweets of the Gordon version. This woman with a basket of sweets becomes a plain sex attraction in some of the African and Anglo-African versions. And as a matter of fact we may have also in these versions an echo of the old Hindu moral lesson literally defined in the Jataka 55, Paricistaparvan and Samyutta Nikaya versions. In some of the African and Anglo-African versions the female tar-baby is a real sex attraction. When Brer Rabbit says to the female tar-baby in the Andros Island version (102) "Fancy I can kiss dis gyirl nice," he is to be identified with the sensual monkeys of the Samyutta Nikaya and Paricistaparvan versions. The Asiatic source of this female tar-baby attraction of the African and Anglo-African versions appears to be certain.

The evidence for the India origin of the tar-baby story is, therefore, quite strong. The three old versions, two of them being fifteen hundred and



two thousand years old, respectively, and one from the twelfth century, together with the five complete versions and one fragmentary modern version seem to me to prove the India origin beyond all doubt. The oriental sources of the European tales are so well known that it would be natural for me now to turn my attention to Europe. The heart of the tar-baby story, the primitive baustein, is found in India, old and modern, together with some of the secondary details. But there are many more secondary details or elements in the various versions of the tar-baby stories from Africa and America that are evidently of European source. This fact alone would be sufficient reason for looking for the European sources of the Anglo-African and Spanish-American versions of the tar-baby story. And to be sure, we find the tale in Europe as I have already indicated.

There are two European versions. The first one is the first tar-baby story collected in modern times anywhere, the Lithuanian version of Schleicher published in 1857 (10), twenty-three years before Uncle Remus. Folklorists that have discussed the tar-baby story heretofore do not even know of the existence of this valuable European version, the pioneer version from modern tradition and for that reason I give it below in its entirety in English translation. The tar-baby episode appears suddenly and dramatically at the end, pure and in all its splendor. To deny that it is a version of the tar-baby story because it has come down from India attached to another folktale would be the same as to say that a nugget of pure gold is not gold if it happens to be found imbedded in a lump containing also other precious metals. The story follows:

Nine brothers had but one sister. All nine were soldiers. When they left their sister, who at that time was still very young, the oldest brother bought her a gold ring. When the girl had grown up she found the ring in a chest and asked her mother, "Mother, who bought this ring and put it here?" The mother said, "My child, you have nine brothers and the eldest bought it for you." Then the girl begged her mother to allow her to put the ring on and pay a visit to her brothers. The mother consented, hitched a little colt to a little carriage, and the girl went away.

Soon she met a young hare who begged, "Onutte, little sister, let me ride with you." She let the hare get into the carriage and said to her, "Duck down behind." They rode on farther until they reached the sea where Laumes were bathing near the shore. When the Laumes saw her thus travelling with the hare they called out, "Come here to us, Onutte; come and bathe. Past us flows a river of milk and out of the shore red wine." But the hare warned her, "Onutte, little sister, do not go to them. In the stream flow tears, and from the shore flows blood." Then a Laume sprang furiously from the water and pulled off the hare's hind feet.

They rode on still farther and another Laume called out, "Onutte, come and bathe with us. Past us flows a river of milk and from the shores flows red wine." But the hare warned her again not to go to them. Then the Laume sprang out of the water, seized the hare and threw her from the carriage. The young girl now rode a long distance along the water and when another Laume called out to her she really went to bathe with them. When she had undressed and wore only the ring the Laume said, "Onutte, little sister, I will change you into a louse and myself into a flea. The one who comes out of the water first will put on your beautiful clothes, but the one who is last must wear the old slimy skin." The Laume won, of course, and put on the fine clothes, while Onutte had to dress herself in the slimy skin. But she kept the ring on her finger and the Laume did not notice it.

Thus they went on farther, Onutte weeping bitterly. The Laume asked, "Where are you going?" Then she told the Laume that she was going on her way to pay her brothers a visit. Soon they reached a very large courtyard into which the Laume entered and asked, "Are there nine windows, nine tables, nine sauce-pans, nine dishes, and nine spoons?" And finally she said, "Are there nine brothers here?" The mistress answered, "Here there are neither nine windows, nor nine tables, nor nine sauce-pans, nor nine dishes, nor nine spoons, nor nine brothers." Then they rode on farther to another courtyard, and the Laume entered and asked as before. Here were the nine brothers. The eldest brother, who was standing by the window and heard the Laume speak, went to the other brothers and said to them, "That must be our sister."

Then the Laume was received with honor. They had her sit at the head of the table and she was richly entertained. Then the eldest brother said, "But who is that sitting in the carriage?" The Laume replied, "As I was passing along the seashore a Laume got in and I allowed her to ride with me." The brother then said, "Well, she can go the field and look after the horses." As she was watching them, the horses of her eldest brother refused to eat. Then she sang the following little song:

"Ah, my little horse, ah, my little brown one,  
Why will you not eat the green grasses of the meadow?  
Why will you not drink of the river's clear water?"

Then the horse began to speak and said:

"Why should I eat green grass?  
Why drink the river's water?  
That Laume, that witch, drinks wine with your brothers,  
While you, your brother's sister,  
Must look after the horses."

The eldest brother, who was now in the field, heard the song, and came up and said, "Laume, witch, come here and wash my head." Weeping bitterly she came up. While she was washing his head he saw the ring and asked, "Where did you get that ring?" Thereupon she related everything that had happened and how she had been betrayed by the Laume. The brother fell into a swoon from grief, and when he had come to his senses he took his sister home, bought her beautiful new clothes and had her wash herself clean and make herself tidy.

Then the eldest brother told the others how the Laume had betrayed their sister, and said, "What kind of torture shall we inflict on the Laume?" Then they took a horse, covered it with tar, placed it close to the door, and cried out, "Laume, witch, come out." The Laume answered, "Oh, master, I cannot, for there is a horse standing in front of the door." "Strike it with your hand so that it will go away," said the brothers. The Laume struck and her hand remained stuck to the tar. The brothers then said, "Strike the horse with your other hand." The Laume struck and her other hand remained stuck also. Then the brothers said again, "Kick the horse with your foot." She did so and her foot remained stuck also. "Strike with the other foot," said the brothers. She did and that also remained stuck. At last she had to strike with her belly and that also stuck. Then the brothers took a good whip, whipped the horse and said:

"Run, my little horse,  
Run, my little brown one,  
Over the heath,  
Down to the sea,  
To wash yourself off."

The Lithuanian tales belong for the most part to the general European folklore, as everybody knows, and many of them are derived from Oriental sources. The possibility that the tar-baby episode just read could go from Africa to Lithuania is very, very remote, and the probability that it has come from India together with many other folktales is quite certain. The fact that it has come down attached to another folktale is nothing extraordinary. In fact the tar-baby story appears attached to all kinds of folktales and folktale incidents. In two of the Cape Verde versions of Dr. Parsons (47, 48) the tar-baby story appears attached to the tale of the master-thief. The tar-baby episode is after all very simple and its presence in other tales where the problem of catching a thief, a bully, or of doing away with any evil-doer, such as the witch of the Lithuanian tale, the destroying monkey of the India tale of Bompas (6), or the destroying and boastful giant of the Castilian tale (11), is not only logical and natural, but the very thing one should expect in folklore.



The Lithuanian version has, of course, the fundamental baustein of the tar-baby story complete, the five-point attack and catch, the initial "will not get out of the way" formula, and the dramatic elements. The dramatic monologue does not occur as such because the witch attacks at each point upon the command of the brothers. This seems a curious version of the dramatic monologue and threats that are repeated by the one who is being caught in other versions of the tale, but there can be no doubt about the relation between the two forms of the monologue. Surely this Lithuanian version of the tar-baby story is as interesting and as important as the Uncle Remus version if not more so, and it is very much of a mystery that it has not been known to those who have studied the tale before.

I now give an English translation of the other European version of the tar-baby story known to me, my own Castilian version found in the province of Ávila in 1920 and published in my "*Cuentos populares españoles*" (11). This version is in some respects a close parallel to the Jataka 55 version from India, and in the actual form of the dramatic monologue a very close parallel to many of the Spanish-American versions.

Once upon a time there were a husband and wife who were very rich and had no children. And the wife was wont to say, "Alas, if the Lord would only give us a son as big and as strong as Sampson so that he could consume our wealth!" And she repeated this so many times that the Lord gave her a son as big and as strong as Sampson. And when they baptized him they had him named Sampson.

The child grew rapidly and when he reached manhood he ate three pigs, three bushel of chick-peas and a bushel of bread a day. In a short while he consumed all their wealth and his parents were left poor. The parents said then, "Now we are going to get him a large hoe so that he can go to work and earn his own living." They had the hoe made and three men were sent for it but they could not lift it. Sampson went then and picked it up easily and said, "This is the way you do it. You are all worthless." He picked it up as if it were a mazard berry and all were greatly surprised.

He then took his hoe and started on his journey. He would find work as a servant in many places but since he ate all the food in one day all would dismiss him the second day, and finally nobody would take him as a servant. All were afraid of him and when they passed near him all would take their hats off. Since no one would have anything to do with him, he went at last to the king's palace and went about digging up the gardens and destroying nearly everything. But no one dared to say anything to him. The king then called his knights and said to them, "What a time we are having with this man! How are we going to get rid of him?" And

they finally agreed to send many armed knights on horseback to fight with him and kill him. The knights, armed with their best weapons, went to meet Sampson. And Sampson at once caught one of the horses by the tail and striking furiously here and there with the horse he soon killed all the knights. He then went to the palace and said to the king, "Well, I have killed them all."

Then they decided to make a tar-man to catch him. They made the tar-man and placed it near the palace. Sampson passed by and because the tar-man did not make a bow to him he said, "Are you going to make a bow to me? If you don't, I'll hit you. Are you going to make a bow to me? If you don't, I'll hit you." And when the tar-man did not make a bow to him, Sampson gave him a blow with his right hand and it stuck. Then he said to him, "Are you going to make a bow to me? If you don't, I'll hit you. Are you going to make a bow to me? If you don't, I'll hit you." He then gave him a blow with his left hand and it stuck. He then said to the tar-man, "Will you let go of my hands? If you don't, I'll hit you with my foot. Will you let go of my hands? If you don't, I'll hit you with my foot." He then gave him a kick and the foot stuck. Thereupon he became very angry and said to the tar-man, "Will you let go of my hands and my foot? If you don't, I'll hit you with the other foot. Will you let go of my hands and my foot? If you don't, I'll hit you with the other foot." And he gave him a kick with the other foot and that stuck also. Angrier than ever, he addressed the tar-man thus, "Will you let go of my two hands and my two feet? If you don't, I'll hit you with my belly. Will you let go of my two hands and my two feet? If you don't I'll hit you with my belly." And he struck him with his belly and that stuck also. And since he was now so well stuck they easily caught him and killed him.

Again we find the unmistakable tar-baby story and attached to another European folktale, in this case, the story of the precociously strong youth similar in the beginning to the well known story of John the Bear.<sup>1</sup> There is even a little of the real biblical Sampson story in the killing of the knights with a horse caught by the tail which brings to memory the death of the thousand Phillistines by Sampson with the jaw of an ass. Probably the name suggested the biblical analog. The stick-fast episode at five points with the detailed dramatic elements is a close parallel to the Jataka 55 version. There are of course some

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<sup>1</sup> It is similar in the beginning to many a European version of John the Bear or some such hero. The Greek tale of Hahn II, 75, *Das Bärenkind*, has a series of incidents at the beginning quite similar to those of the first part of our Castilian tar-baby story. The incident of the young boy who eats everything and destroys everything appears also in a Porto-Rican folktale. Mason-Espinosa PRF II, 35.

differences of detail. In the Jataka version Prince Buddha is stuck at five points to a giant with sticky hair, while in the Castilian version the destroying giant is himself caught by the ordinary tar-baby of the numerous versions from all parts of the world. The details of the dramatic monologue are the best told of any version known to me. The threat after the attack and catch at each point is repeated always. With the exception of the repetition, the actual details of the dramatic monologue are very similar to those of the Spanish-American versions. One can hardly escape the conclusion that the dramatic monologue of our Castilian version is the prototype version par excellence of all the Spanish American versions. As for the no-escape ending I have already pointed out that it is by no means rare in the various versions. In 26 versions or 17% of the total, the one caught fast is actually killed. The attack on the tar-baby begins with the "no salute" episode, and this is strikingly similar to the frequent "no reply" formula of the Spanish-American and Anglo-African versions.

The presence of the tar-baby story attached to another European folktale in the Lithuanian version, in the Castilian version, and also in the two Cape Verde versions already cited, seems to me to be ample evidence for the theory suggested by Dr. Parsons that one of the ways the tar-baby story entered Europe was as an attachment to other folktales. The fact is that the tar-baby story appears in Europe and in characteristically European dress and setting, and it also appears under similar circumstances in the two Portuguese versions from the Cape Verde Islands. In all four cases it is a man that is caught by a bucket of tar, a tarred man or giant, a tarred horse, or an actual modern tar-baby, gradually and in multiple-point fashion as in the Jataka 55 version. The two European versions together with the two Cape Verde Islands versions are four important links in the chain of the story's evolution. Equally important links are to be found in the versions from Hispanic America.

Two false assumptions must disappear, therefore, from our minds as we continue the study of our problem: the idea that the tale has not been found in Europe, and the idea that it is of African origin. The three old India versions, two of them fifteen hundred and two thousand years old, respectively, the six modern India versions, and the two European versions, all studied already, are most certainly not of African source. Having found the tar-baby story fully developed in India and Europe let us now turn our attention to the versions from the Hispanic world, since the story has been found in Spain.<sup>1</sup>

Outside of India and Europe the best versions of the tale are from Hispanic America. Even in the popularity of the tale Hispanic America

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<sup>1</sup> In Appendix I, 21, I give another tar-baby, or rather tarred-horse, version from Spain, already mentioned and not included in my study.



does not yield to any country. From the Spanish-speaking countries alone I have found thirty-five versions, while from the Anglo-African regions, which have been explored far more in search of folklore, there are only thirty-six. I cannot, of course, go into a study of all the thirty-five Spanish-American versions. I will cite either briefly or in detail a few that seem to me to be outstanding both as characteristic versions from Spanish-America and as links in the India-Europe-America evolution of the story, and then I shall attempt to characterize the Spanish-American versions as a whole.

The two long tales of the rabbit and coyote cycle published by Professor Boas from Pochutla and Oaxaca, Mexico, are of the best that we have from Spanish-America and typical of the group as a whole (16, 17). Both narrate numerous adventures of the rabbit and the coyote, the last named animal appearing always in the place of the poor foolish jackal of the India folktales or the stupid wolf of the Aesopic and general European tales and fables. That this whole cycle of the rabbit and the coyote may be of European source, probably Spanish, is to me quite evident. The stupid wolf and the clever rabbit are commonplace in the folktales from Spain. In some cases the fox is the stupid animal and the toad the clever one.<sup>1</sup> In the two Mexican versions the European incidents are numerous. In both the tar-baby episode appears at the beginning. This part of the Pochutla version (16) is the following:

There was a woman who had a chile-garden; and every day she went to watch it because a rabbit ate much of it. Upon the advice of an ant she sets up four little wax-monkeys at the entrance of the wall where the rabbit entered, two on each side.

The rabbit arrived and when he saw the first wax-monkey he said, "See here, little monkey of wax! If you do not let me pass, I'll box your ears." And he boxed his ears and his little hand stuck fast. He said again, "Look here, little mokey of wax! If you do not let me pass, I have another hand, and I'll box your ears again." And he boxed his ears, and the other little hand stuck fast. He said again, "Look here, little monkey of wax! If you don't let go of my little hands I'll kick you." And he kicked him and his little foot stuck fast. He said again, "Look here, little monkey of wax! If you don't let go of my hands and my foot, I'll kick you again. I have another little foot."

At this point the daughter arrived and said to the rabbit, "Ah, it must be you who eats my chile! Now I'll get even with you. She put him in a net and took him to the house. She hung him in the middle of the house and went to fetch boiling water to throw over him. In the meantime a coyote passed by, and as soon as the rabbit saw him he began to cry out, "I am too small and I don't want to

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<sup>1</sup> See Cuentos 215, and especially tales 228—231.

get married! How can they marry me by force?" The coyote drew near and asked the rabbit what the trouble was. The rabbit explained that he was in the net because they wanted to marry him to a very pretty girl and he did not want to marry. Coyote said then that he would marry the pretty girl if the rabbit would let him get into the net. He got into the net and the rabbit escaped.

When the old woman found the coyote she said, "Ah, how did the rabbit turn into a coyote!" She put the pot of water over the fire, and when it was boiling she poured it over the coyote's hind quarters. The coyote was badly burnt and ran away rolling and rolling himself on the road.

The rabbit plays many more tricks on the coyote: throws prickly pears into his mouth, leaves him taking care of the baby (wasps) and the wasps sting him, takes him to get the cheese (moon) out of the pond, etc., etc. These incidents are for the most part of European source as I have already stated. The tar-baby story which comes at the beginning is one of the best from any region. The presence of four wax-monkeys instead of one is not a unique feature of this Pochutla version. It is found also in the New Mexican versions and there it is explained. In both of the Mexican versions the attack and catch are at four points and the dramatic monologue is especially well defined. The substitution of the coyote for the rabbit, however, is not a characteristic of this individual tale, but a special feature of the Spanish-American versions (60%). In India substitution occurs in only one of the versions (7). In the two Mexican versions the rabbit escapes by deceiving the coyote into believing that they are to marry him to a pretty girl, the king's daughter in other Spanish-American versions (11 or 31% of the versions have one or the other). The escape of the rabbit through substitution is the outstanding trait of the Spanish-American versions while in the Anglo-African versions the escape through the mock-plea is the outstanding feature (20 or 56% of the versions). Both have the escape of the animal caught as the principal characteristic, but in the Spanish-American versions it is through substitution while in the Anglo-African versions it is through the mock-plea. There is some similarity between the incident of the rabbit who says they are to marry him to a pretty girl, the king's daughter in other Spanish-American versions and a common European incident in other folktales, and the incident of the India version (8) where the fox that had been caught by a tar-baby is allowed to go free when it promises the man to help him to marry the daughter of a king. And a relation between all these incidents of the tar-baby versions seems probable in view of the fact that in Fansler's Philippine version (65) a monkey that is caught by a tar-baby actually helps the man who allowed him his freedom out of mere pity to find and marry a king's daughter, as we have already pointed out in our study of the India version. If

we substitute a man, several men, several animals, or a clever servant for the monkey of the Phillipine version we will have a commonplace incident of many a European folktale.<sup>1</sup>

My New-Mexican Spanish version (18) is very similar to the Mexican versions from Pochutla and Oaxaca. It resembles especially the Pochutla version in that there are three wax-monkeys (the Pochutla version has four) instead of one, but in view of the fact that their presence in the tale is for a definite purpose I believe that the New Mexican version is a more complete and primitive form of the Spanish-American tar-baby story than the Pochutla version. The Pochutla version fails to explain the presence of the four wax-monkeys as does the New Mexican version the three. Briefly, the New Mexican version is as follows:

A farmer had a fine vegetable garden and a rabbit came every night to steal the vegetables. To catch him he set up three wax-men at three different corners of the garden.

As soon as it was dark the rabbit arrived and seeing one of the wax-men he became frightened and addressed him thus, "Please don't kill me. Let us run a race from here to the other corner. If you win you can kill me and if I win you will let me go." The wax-man made no reply so the rabbit thought he had accepted the wager. "Here we go," said the rabbit, and he started to run as fast as he could. On arriving at the other corner of the garden he stopped and saw in front of him the second wax-man, and thinking that he had been beaten he said, "Well you beat me this time; but please give me another chance." He started to run again as fast as he could. On arriving at the third corner of the garden he stopped before the third wax-man. "You must be the devil himself if you can beat a rabbit running," said the rabbit greatly surprised. And very angry he added, "But before I give up let us have a fist fight in order to decide who is the braver of the two." As he spoke thus he raised his right hand and gave him a hard blow. His hand stuck. "Let go, let go," said the rabbit; "if you don't let go I'll hit you again." And he gave the wax-man a blow with his other hand and that stuck also. The rabbit then got very angry and gave the wax-man a kick. His leg stuck. Then the rabbit got very, very angry, and said to the wax-man, "I still have one leg left and in order that you may realize what a brave man I am, I am going to give you a good beating." Then he gave him a kick with his last leg and that stuck also.

But even then the rabbit did not give up, and he said to the wax-man, "I suppose you think that because I am caught by my hands and feet I cannot defend myself. You are badly mistaken for I still have my head." And saying this he gave the wax-man a bump with his head and his head stuck also.

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<sup>1</sup> See Cuentos 9, 142.



The next day the farmer found the rabbit well caught and took him home. His wife had already prepared a vessel of boiling water and the rabbit said to himself, "Surely I am going to die now. They are going to put me in boiling water." But they left the rabbit outside tied and went into the house for a moment.

In the meantime a coyote passed by looking for the rabbit to eat him. The moment he saw the rabbit he said, "What are you doing here, friend rabbit? Let us go out for a walk." "Oh, no," said the rabbit. "Don't you see those kettles boiling on the stove? They are going to have a big dinner here in a few moments and I have been invited. If you wish to take my place come here and untie me and stay here until they come." "All right," said the coyote, and he untied the rabbit and remained in his place. The rabbit escaped immediately. When the man and the woman came out to kill and cook the rabbit the man said, "How this rabbit has grown! We are certainly going to have a fine feast. Let us throw it in the hot water so it will be well cooked." Coyote thought they were going to take him to the feast. They lifted him up and threw him into the boiling water. When coyote realized what they were doing with him he jumped out all scalded and with half his skin peeled off and ran away in search of the rabbit.

Then follow a series of incidents, some of them similar to those of the Pochutla version. The version is another typical Spanish-American version, with the presence of the three wax-men explained, the usual "no reply" formula, the five-point attack and catch, the dramatic monologue well defined, and the series of incidents characteristic of many Spanish-American rabbit and coyote tales. The several wax-figures, however, is not a characteristic of the Spanish-American versions. In the majority of them there is only the usual single tar-baby. The episode of the several tar-babies and the incident of the race is found only in the New Mexican version just read.

My New Mexican MS (19) version is very similar to the one given above, but there is only one tar-baby and the incident of the race is lacking. Coyote substitutes, and is scalded with hot water again.

If we leave out the multiplicity of the tar-figures the great majority of the Spanish-American versions are very similar to the Mexican and New Mexican Spanish versions given above. A rabbit (25 times or 71% of the versions), a monkey (3 times or 9%), or less frequently another animal, steals garden produce from a field and is caught at four or five points by a tar-baby, a coyote (11 times or 31%), a tiger (4 times or 11%), or some other animal, substitutes and is scalded with hot water (7 times or 20% of the versions) or stuck with a hot poker (7 times or 20% of the versions). The initial "no reply" formula is the rule (29 times or 83% of the versions), and the dramatic monologue is especially well defined (26 times or 74% of the versions).

In another Mexican version from Oaxaca (34) several wax-monkeys are placed on fruit trees to catch a greedy monkey, but in the subsequent six-point attack and catch, two hands, two feet, head and tail, no mention is made of more than one. In this version there is also the usual Spanish-American substitution and the fox that substitutes is burned with a hot poker and dies from the injuries. The scalding with hot water and the burning with a hot poker of the hind quarters of the substitute animal are, together with the substitution, a Spanish-American characteristic. As we have already seen, scalding and burning with hot water and a hot poker occur together in 14 or 40% of the versions. The scalding with hot water occurs only in the Spanish-American versions, while burning with a hot poker occurs also in 3 or 42% of the Lesser Antilles versions and once in the American-Indian versions, evidently from Spanish influence. The Lesser Antilles have also a large percentage of substitution, 42%, the outstanding feature of the Spanish-American versions, 60%, while the American-Indian versions, that have many features of the Spanish-American versions from which they are probably derived, have 23% substitution. The Anglo-African and African versions have 14 and 8%, respectively.

The following features of the Spanish-American versions occur with less frequency and have in some cases very definite geographical limitations:

The one caught by a tar-baby is a man, as in the Jataka 55, the two European and other versions, in three versions, all three from the Greater Antilles, two from Santo Domingo, (12 and 14) and one from Porto Rico (21). In all three cases the man caught is a thief, there is the usual single tar-baby, the reason for the beginning of the attack is the "no reply" incident, the attack and catch are at 3, 5 and 3 points, respectively, the man escapes in all three and there is no substitution. In 13 or 9% of the total number of 152 versions the one caught by a tar-baby is a man. The presence of a man instead of the usual animal, 140 or 92% of the total, in the Jataka version from India and in the two European versions tends to show that this was a primitive feature of some of the India versions. This primitive feature of a man being caught instead of the more usual animal may account for the fact that in two Cape Verde versions the original tar-baby pattern has been confused with the tale of the master-thief.

The one caught is a monkey in three Spanish-American versions, two Mexican versions (34, 36), and the Chilean version (20). It is rather remarkable that a monkey appears as the animal caught in two versions from India, in three Spanish-American versions, in all three Brazilian versions (50, 51, 52), in the two Philippine versions (65, 66), in only one African version and not in a single case of the 36 Anglo-African versions. The India monkey appears practically only in the Hispanic world. As we have already pointed out the monkey represents

Buddha in eleven of the Jataka or Buddha birth stories. The presence of a monkey in a sufficiently large number of versions, two from India, six from Hispanic America, two from the Philippines where Spanish influence is strong, seems to point again to a source that began in India and travelled to Europe and from Spain and Portugal to Hispanic America and other lands.

Tar-baby is attacked because he is set up with a pack of cards and refuses to play cards or to pay when the new-comer wins after playing alone in six Spanish-American versions, and in no other versions of the tar-baby story known to me. This is another characteristic of the Spanish-American versions. The incident occurs in four Porto-Rican versions (22, 24, 26, 29), the version from Colombia (45), and the Chilean version (20).

A brief outline of the Chilean version, the best of the six that has the card-playing episode, follows:

There was once a king who was very, very rich, and who owned a monkey that was very, very naughty. Every night the monkey used to steal some of his master's best jerked beef in order to eat it with his companions.

The king suspected that his chief officer was the thief and went with him to the cellar and complained about the thefts. The officer could not explain the matter and the king accused him openly, saying to him, "I will give you two days to catch the thief, and if during that time you cannot catch him you will pay for the thefts with your head." The officer was greatly grieved and did not know what to do.

Finally he decided to consult a witch who was said to have a pact with the devil. The witch advised him to make a tar-monkey and to set it up near a hole through which they suspected the thief had entered the cellar, and to place a pack of cards in the hands of the tar-monkey and a lighted candle on one side and a pile of money on the other. The officer did exactly what the witch advised.

During the night the monkey went down into the cellar, and the moment he saw the tar-monkey with the deck of cards and the pile of money he said to himself, "To-night I am going to win all that money and then I am going to have a good time." Then he said to the tar-monkey, "Well, here I am, friend! Let us toss up a coin to see who deals." He picked up a coin, threw it up and said, "Heads or tails . . . Tails. All right. You deal." The tar-monkey said nothing and did not move, so the monkey continued, "I see no reason for getting mad. Go ahead and play. If you don't I'll give you a beating and take the money away from you."

After waiting for a moment the monkey became impatient and took the cards himself. He drew two cards and said, "Which one



are you betting on?" There was no reply and he said, "Well, if you don't wish to bet I will. I'll bet a hundred dollars on the ace of diamonds." The tar-monkey did not say a word and the monkey played until he won all the money. Then he was going away with all the money, but suddenly he turned back and said to the tar-monkey. "You really ought to give me more money because you still owe me a lot." There was no reply and the monkey got furious and gave the tar-monkey a terrible blow knocking him down from the chair on which he was sitting. But his right hand stuck. "Let me go or I'll give you another blow that will make you spit blood," said the monkey angrily. The monkey then struck a hard blow with his left hand, and that stuck also. The monkey then said, "If you don't let me go, I'll give you a kick that will make your nose bleed." He gave him a kick and his foot stuck. Then he gave him a kick with his left foot, and that stuck also. Then he lashed the tar-monkey with his tail, and his tail stuck also. And lastly he struck him with his belly, and his belly stuck also. Only his head remained free, and he said then to the tar-monkey, "Look here, little monkey dear, I'll give you all the money I won from you, all the money I had myself, and all the money you want besides, if you let me go." There was no reply. He then struck the tar-monkey with his head as hard as he could, and his head also stuck.

The next day the monkey was found caught and the king ordered that he should be tied to a tree so that two caldrons of hot water would be poured over him and a hot poker stuck in his flesh. The monkey was tied to the tree when a lion passed by and inquired what the trouble was. And the monkey replied, "It is this way, brother lion, they want me to eat a whole calf. Why don't you stay and eat the calf yourself?" The lion consented and in a moment he untied the monkey and allowed him to tie him in his place.

Soon two men arrived with two caldrons of hot water and a red-hot poker. "Goodness! You were first a monkey and now you are a lion," said one of the men. The lion thought that they were asking him if he wanted to eat the calf and said, "Yes, indeed, I want to eat it." Immediately they poured the two caldrons of hot water over him and before he knew what was happening they also stuck him with the hot poker. The poor lion made a violent effort and broke the strings that held him. Then he ran away roaring through the forests from pain and anger.

One of the Cuban versions is of special interest because the animal caught fast with a tar-baby is a bird, a sparrow (31). It is the only case in the 152 versions studied.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The mere incident of a bird being caught by means of a pole or a branch of a tree smeared with tar or bird-lime, however, is quite common in European folklore. It is the usual way of catching the dove (enchanted princess)

There was once a Chinaman who had a garden where he had planted among other things a few cundiamor plants (a sort of climbing vine). As soon as the fruit ripened the sparrows would eat it. In order to catch them the Chinaman set up a rag-doll all covered with chapapote (a sort of asphalt) near the cundiamor plants. Early in the morning while the Chinaman was looking out from his hut a sparrow came flying and lit on the fence near the plants and observed the tar-baby quite astonished. He was a little distrustful and greeted the tar-baby very politely. When tar-baby did not reply he said, "This fellow has a bad temper. I think I had better not go near him." He then flew to another garden.

The Chinaman was a little disappointed and that night he placed some ripe cundiamor plants on one of the shoulders of the tar-baby. The sparrow arrived again and seeing the ripe and delicious fruit on one of the shoulders of the tar-baby and only green fruit on the plants he approached and said, "Good morning, friend." Receiving no reply he flew right over the tar-baby and said, "Look out, friend! If you don't take good care of that cundiamor I'll eat it." Finally he flew near and began to peck at the cundiamor and it tasted so good that he lit on the tar-baby to eat at ease. Both of his legs stuck fast but he was eating so voraciously that at first he did not notice it.

When he was through eating he tried to fly and could not. Thinking that the tar-baby was holding him he spoke to him thus, "Let me go before I get warmed up and give you a good beating." He then made a great effort to fly and both of his wings stuck. Then he began to insult the tar-baby, threatening to kill him if he did not let go. He gave him a peck and his beak stuck. Then he struck with his body and all his body stuck. The Chinaman then came out and removed him from the tar-baby. But his feathers were all stuck together and he could not fly. The cat came and ate him.

This special type is a new development that merely gives us additional evidence of the popularity of the tale in Spanish-America. It has the multiple attack and catch, at six points, although when caught at the first two points it is not actually an attack, the initial "no reply" formula, and the dramatic monologue with the corresponding threats. The version presents us a primitive pattern of the story, the bare fundamentals of the baustein, with no substitution and with none of the numerous incidents so commonly found in the typical versions from Spanish-America.

in the well known European tale of the negress and the enchanted princess, the Spanish *La negra y la paloma*, Cuentos 120. See Romero XIV, 44; Cosquin in RTP XXVIII, 341; FLJ III, 290—293; Braga I, 83. In these tales the dove is caught the moment it lights on the tarred branch. The incident has no relation at all with the tar-baby story.

Another version from Cuba is also worthy of note, although it lacks most of the fundamental elements of the baustein (32):

Two farmers have vegetable gardens, and one of them, envious of the other one, sends a trained rabbit to eat and destroy the neighbor's vegetables. The farmer suspects the trick and sets up a bucket of tar in the garden in place of a bucket of fresh turnips that he was accustomed to leave there. The rabbit appears and falls into the bucket and gets stuck at once. His master whistles to him to come home but he is stuck fast. He struggles to escape but only gets deeper and deeper into the tar. The owner of the garden finds him caught and kills him.

This extraordinary version shows confusion with the tale of the master thief to the point that there is no play of hands and feet at all, but the thief is caught all at once by falling into the bucket of tar as in the typical tale of the master-thief in the versions of the Book of the Seven Sages. The tar-bucket appears also in other versions of the tar-baby story, in one of the Cape Verde versions (48), and in two Anglo-African versions (III, II9), but in all three of these we have the usual multiple-point attack and catch episodes, gradually and with the dramatic monologue and threats, the "no reply" formula, etc., as if the bucket of tar were a real tar-baby. In these versions the bucket of tar has been actually personified in order that it may fit with the traditional tar-baby type, whereas in the Cuban version the tar-bucket episode of the tale of the master-thief has remained unchanged in an actual tar-baby story. But in the Cuban version there is also confusion with another European tale, that of the two envious brothers or neighbors.<sup>1</sup> Once more we have the tar-baby story attached to other European tales.

One of the versions collected by Mr. Andrade from Santo Domingo (13) must be treated apart because it is the only one of the thirty-five Spanish-American versions that is definitely related to a known African form of the tar-baby story:

A husband and wife had a piece of land, but the husband was so lazy that he refused to work on it. Finally the wife got a friend to help her plant some rice in the land. But as soon as the rice was ripe and good to eat the lazy husband began to steal it. He had a cave near the field where he had taken salt, lard, and a pot. And every night he would come out and steal rice from the field.

One day the woman met her friend and said, "Compadre, some one is stealing my rice." And the friend replied, "Compadre, that is my compadre, your husband." "It cannot be he," said the woman, "because I know that he sleeps over there in the cave." And the friend replied, "But I know that it is he, and I am going to show you how we can catch him."

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<sup>1</sup> See Cuentos 172—176.



So then they made a tar-man. When the lazy husband looked out of the cave he saw the tar-man and said, "There is the thief, the man who has been stealing the rice." Then he went out and said to the tar-man, "Good night! Good night!" And when the tar-man did not reply he said, "Friend, do you want me to give you a punch in the neck?" And he gave him a punch and his hand stuck. Then he said, "Friend, let go of me or I'll give you another punch." And he struck again and his other hand remained stuck. "All right! If you don't let go I'll give you a kick." He gave him a kick and his foot stuck. Then he said, "Friend, let go of me or I'll give you a blow with my head." He struck with his head and his head stuck. Then he said, "Let go of me, friend, or I'll give you a push with my belly." And he gave him a fierce push with his belly and his belly stuck also.

The next day the wife and the friend went to the field and found the lazy husband well caught. She got a switch and gave him a good beating. Then she took him off the tar-man. "Did I not tell you it was your husband?" said the compadre. "Yes, compadre, and I really ought to kill him," said the woman.

That is the end of the tar-baby episode. There follows another tale attached to the tar-baby episode, the curious story of the skull that asks for something to eat from a glutton, one that appears detached in Porto Rico and is strikingly similar to one of my peninsular Spanish tales.<sup>1</sup>

This tar-baby version from Santo Domingo is a somewhat fragmentary version of the well known West African version of Barker and Sinclair (127) of the man who steals from his wife and children and when discovered, after being caught with a tar-man, changes himself into a spider, a tale that is found in almost identical form in an Anglo-African version from Jamaica (92). In the African and Anglo-African versions the husband-thief plays dead and comes to steal from the grave, while in the Santo Domingo version we are told that he sleeps in a cave near the rice field. This is the only important point of divergence. All three tales are different forms of the same tale, probably of African provenience. The African and Anglo-African versions are discussed later.

If we turn our attention to the Portuguese versions from Brazil and the Cape Verde Islands we find three somewhat different types. The Brazilian versions of Pimentel and Romero (50, 51) and the Cape Verde version number 33 (49) are different from most of the Hispanic versions in that the one robbed and the thief are partners in the garden from which one of them steals. In this respect these versions seem to show African influence. The partnership element is decidedly African. If we count also the African versions where the animals are in partner-

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<sup>1</sup> Mason-Espinosa, PRF II, 19, and Cuentos 46.

ship digging a well it occurs in 14 or 54 % of the African versions. It is found also in four or 11 % of the Anglo-African versions, but in these it is not always clearly and definitely defined as partnership. As for the rest, the above Brazilian and Cape Verde versions are of the usual type of the tar-baby story as a detached pattern. In the Brazilian versions a monkey is caught at five points, killed, and in one of them eaten. In the Cape Verde version a wolf is caught by another wolf, his nephew, and burned together with the tar-baby. In all three we have the fundamentals of the baustein, the multiple attack and catch, the initial "no reply" formula, the thief element and the male tar-baby, the dramatic monologue, but neither substitution, the outstanding Spanish-American characteristic, nor the mock-plea, the outstanding Anglo-African feature.

Two of the Cape Verde versions (47, 48) have the tar-baby episode attached to the tale of the master-thief as we have already indicated at the beginning of this article. In both versions the thief is a man, of course. In one of them (47) the thief is caught by a tar-man in the usual way at four points, "no reply" formula, dramatic monologue, etc. In the second version (48) the thief is caught by a tar barrel. This is of course the usual bucket of tar of the tale of the master-thief, but in our Cape Verde version the thief attacks in the usual manner, as if the barrel of tar were a real tar-man, is caught in the usual fashion at four points, etc., exactly as in the other version. In both the thief has his head cut off by the son as in the tale of the master-thief. There follow in both various incidents, in general those of the versions of the tale of the master-thief and others of European source.

These two Cape Verde versions are rather remarkable examples of one of the ways by which the tar-baby story has come down from India to Europe and from Europe to the Cape Verde Islands attached to other folktales, in this case specifically the tale of the master-thief. These two versions seem to me to be as important as the European versions as links in the chain of versions that have come down from India to European tradition and from Europe to the Cape Verde Islands and perhaps other lands.

Our sixth Portuguese version is just as interesting and important. The Brazilian version of Santa-Anna Nery (52) is the following:

A monkey steals oranges from an orange grove. The owner of the orange grove sets up a wax-monkey on one of the trees. The monkey arrives and says to the wax-monkey, "Give me an orange." Receiving neither the orange nor a reply he gets angry, picks up a stone and throws it at the wax-monkey. The stone sticks to the wax-monkey. Then an orange falls from the tree and the monkey eats it, thinking that his command had been obeyed after throwing the stone. He then asks for another orange. He does not get it so he throws another stone at the wax-monkey, and that stone sticks also.

No more oranges fall so the monkey gets very angry, climbs up the tree and gives the wax-monkey a good kick. His foot sticks. Then the monkey attacks in the usual manner with his hands and both stick. He still fights to free himself and both monkey and wax-monkey fall together to the ground. He finally escapes all battered up.

What is the importance of this Brazilian version? The fact that it has the incident of the throwing of the stones, two stones, that stick to the tar-baby. This is not a new development, but a modern form of the episode of the fifty arrows that the Prince of the Five Weapons, Buddha himself, shot at the giant with the sticky hair and which stuck, before the attack and stick-fast at five points, in the Jataka 55 version of some fifteen hundred years ago. In the second modern India version of Bodding (5) we have also an echo of the arrows episode when the angry jackal first throws a drum-stick at the wax-woman and that sticks to the wax. Again we find in the modern versions not only the primitive baustein of the tar-baby story from India, but also some of the secondary details of the India versions.

Somewhat similar to this is the Orinoco Indian version of Koch-Grünberg (53), probably of Portuguese origin. Instead of the drum-stick of the Bodding version, or the two stones of the Santa-Anna Nery version, or the fifty arrows of the Jataka 55 version, the Indian Makunaíma of the Orinoco version throws his blow-gun at a magic trap set up by the man-eating giant Piaíma, and it is caught in the trap. Then follows the attack and catch at four points. There is no initial "no reply" formula, the attacker being a bully who throws the blow-gun as soon as he sees the magic trap and begins the attack at once after that, and there is no dramatic monologue. It is a man who is caught as in the Jataka and in the European versions. Makunaíma is then taken home by Piaíma and is about to be killed, but escapes by saying to the magic basket where he was put what he had heard his captor say when he put him in it, "Open your mouth, your big mouth."

With the exception of the initial "no reply" formula and the dramatic monologue, which is barely suggested with the words, "Then he wished to destroy the trap with his other foot, etc." this South-American Indian version contains the fundamental elements of the baustein, and I believe that the incident of the throwing of the blow-gun at the trap that is caught before the usual attack and stick-fast episode is not an accidental, independent development, but again a survival of the episode of the arrows that stick to the giant with the sticky hair of the Jataka version. It is merely another form of the similar incident of the two stones that stick to the wax-monkey of the Santa-Anna Nery version.

The seven versions from the Lesser Antilles are of special interest and importance because as a geographical group near the Spanish-American and Anglo-African groups they present a group that has no definite and



clearly original features, but shows rather a blending of Spanish-American and African characteristics. There are three versions from Trinidad, two from Martinique, and one each from St. Vincent and St. Lucia.

In general the Lesser Antilles versions present a brief detached pattern of the tar-baby story that contains all the elements of the baustein, the initial "no reply" formula in all, the dramatic monologue and threats in six of the seven, the attack and stick-fast episode at four or five points, omitted in only one version (58) but taken for granted in view of the end of the tale. A few special features have been fully developed, but none of them are original. The female tar-baby, an African and Anglo-African feature, is found in four or 56% of the versions, but the actual courtship episode occurs only in one (54). The partnership element, one of the members of the family being the thief, another African trait, does not occur at all, but curiously enough the stealing of water from a well and often soiling it, elements that usually belong to the partnership feature of the African and Anglo-African versions, occur in five or 71% of the versions. However, the well that is dug by the animals in common, except the hare or rabbit who does not work and later steals, in the African and Anglo-African versions, belongs to a king in the Lesser Antilles versions. Another outstanding feature of the Anglo-African versions, the mock-plea, and one that is also found in the African versions, does not occur at all in the Lesser Antilles. On the other hand, substitution, the outstanding characteristic of the Spanish-American versions, and an element of European tradition, is found in three or 42% of the Lesser Antilles versions, and the hot poker incident, another Spanish-American characteristic, occurs in the three cases of substitution and is suggested in a fourth version. The specific reason given to the tiger by the rabbit to secure the substitution, "They give plenty of food," also a Spanish-American feature and one specifically of European source, is found in two of the three cases of substitution. In both cases the rabbit tells the tiger that they are going to give him an ox to eat, a detail that has an exact parallel in the Chilean version (20).

In the Lesser Antilles versions the animal that substitutes is not the typical coyote of the Spanish-American versions (11 or 52% of all the cases of substitution), but the tiger of the Porto-Rican and Colombia versions. In Chile it is a lion.

There is one feature that is dominant in the versions from the Lesser Antilles, although it is an element found also in Spanish-American, African and other versions, the tar-baby, usually female, that has some kind of food to entice the hungry animal, cakes and tea or chocolate, bread and fish, etc. It is found in five or 71% of the versions and it actually causes the initial attack and catch at the first point in three of the five: "no reply" and greed for the food together. In an India version (7) the female tar-baby entices a jackal with a basket of sweets in her hands; in three Spanish-American versions from Porto Rico the

tar-baby has a cheese, a loaf of bread, and a bottle of wine, respectively, in her hands; in three African versions the tar-baby has fruit or food in her hands or near by; in one Anglo-African version from Antigua (116) the tar-baby has sweets as in the India version; in a Cuban version (31) the tar-baby has fruit on one of his shoulders; and in one Portuguese version from Brazil (51) the tar-baby has bananas placed on his head.

In one of the versions (59) the tar-baby has dice and money and the rabbit who arrives to steal wants to gamble. This is evidently a variant of the cards and money episode characteristic of the Spanish-American versions (6 or 17% of the versions).

One of the versions deserves special notice, the one from St. Vincent (57), because it has one of the longest and most complicated dramatic monologues of any of the versions known to me. The attack and catch begin at two points, but after that the animal, a cat, struggles to throw the tar-baby into the well and gets caught from head to foot. There is no substitution and the king says in the end that he is going to eat the cat. A brief resumé follows:

There was once a king who had a well and some one was stealing the water. He set up a tar-baby and placed it standing near the well. In one hand the tar-baby had a loaf of bread and in the other one a slice of fish.

About eleven o'clock at night the thief, a cat, arrived, saw the tar-baby and, startled said, "Good evening, sir." The tar-baby did not reply, so the cat continued, "I am only taking a walk around and I want to ask you for some water." The tar-baby would not say a word. Then the thief said, "What sort of a man are you, a living man or a dead man?" But the tar-baby would not speak. So the thief said then, "Well, I'll have to find out who you are." He walked right up to the tar-baby and looked very closely because it was dark. Then he said, "Oh! I see now what you are. Massah king only put you there to frighten me, but you could not or would not. You are no good here." Saying this he hit him a slap on the jaw. His hand stuck. "You look very gummy," said the cat. "Let go of me. If you don't let go of me I'll give you another slap." And he slapped him again and his other hand stuck also. Then Ba Nancy, the cat, said to the tar-baby, "What do you mean by this? You will not let me go? I'll fling you over into the well if you will not let me go. Massah king sent you here to hold me, and you are holding me, but I am going to throw you into the well and both of us have to go." And trying to throw the tar-baby into the well and struggling to get away he got stuck more until he was well stuck from head to foot.

The next morning the king came and said, "Ah! I have caught the thief and his bones will make my bread today. Here you are." And he gave him a grip on the shoulder and took him out and held him by the hair and took him to his home.



The versions from the Lesser Antilles, therefore, have developed fully one special feature, the tar-baby with food of some kind to entice the hungry thief, which, however, is a feature found in many other versions; they have in general the outstanding and secondary features of the Spanish-American and Anglo-African (and of course African) versions, — substitution, hot poker and gambling incidents of the former, female tar-baby and courtship, and water-stealing episode of the latter. This is a remarkable case of the presence of mixed traditions from different sources, especially Spanish-American, African and Anglo-African, with very little originality in recent, local development. In view of the geographical location of the islands with the infiltration of Spanish, Negro, French, English and other racial elements that have contributed each its share of tradition they seem to furnish a most interesting field for studies in folkloristic geography.

The four versions from Dutch Guiana are clearly related to those from the Lesser Antilles, but in some respects are quite different. Even more so than the Lesser Antilles versions they present a rather primitive and simple version of the baustein. There is no substitution, the outstanding feature of the Spanish-American versions, found also in 42% of the Lesser Antilles versions, in any of the four. Thieves steal from the garden of a king (three or 75% of the versions) instead of the well of a king (five or 71% of the Lesser Antilles versions); the initial "no reply" and dramatic monologue occur in all four; and the attack and catch are at five points (two versions), four points (one version), and one point (one version). There is no female tar-baby, and no animal partnership. The tar-baby has corn or cakes in two versions. The animal thief is a spider in three of the four versions, probably an African feature. It occurs only once in the seven versions from the Lesser Antilles, but three times in the African versions. In the fourth version the animal thief is a monkey as in the Brazilian and other versions.

In all four versions from Dutch Guiana the animal caught by a tar-baby escapes alive although in two of them (61, 62) the spider gets a good beating. A definite summary of the secondary features of the versions points to the following sources: The spider-thief is an African feature, the king as the owner of the garden in three versions is similar to the king as the owner of the well in the Lesser Antilles versions, but the vegetable stealing and the water stealing are Spanish-American and African characteristics, respectively. The absence of the female tar-baby points to Spanish-American influence, but the absence of substitution is puzzling, especially in view of its presence in three of the Lesser Antilles version. The monkey as the animal caught in one of the versions is a Brazilian or general Hispanic feature. The tar-baby with food in its hands in two of the four versions may point to Lesser Antilles influence for in the Lesser Antilles versions the incident occurs in five



of the seven or 71% of the versions, although the incident occurs sporadically in versions from all the groups as I have already pointed out. The Dutch Guiana versions, in short, are related to the African, Lesser Antilles and Spanish-American versions in some of their secondary features.

There is one version from Dutch Guiana, however, that calls for special comment because the spider caught by a tar-baby escapes through the ruse of one of his sons who sings and prophecies the death and ruin of all if father spider is killed. This special and original ruse which reminds one of the common-place mock-plea "Don't throw me into the briar-patch" of the Anglo-African versions, the mock-plea "Don't swing me by the tail" of the African versions, and the deceiving words of the rabbit when he wishes to entice the coyote or tiger to take his place in the Spanish-American versions, is certainly a unique feature in the versions from Dutch Guiana and one of the most original of the secondary features of any of the tar-baby versions known to me. It may be compared to the coming to life of the dead animal in the Taos Indian versions discussed later, in originality and special individual development. I suspect that the ruse is of African, probably Anglo-African or Hispanic-African source, although a direct European source does not seem remote. This interesting version follows (63):

The king had a place where there were all kinds of fruit, plantains, and other kinds of food. But outsiders were stealing the fruit and the food. So the king had a large tar-baby put up inside the yard.

The thief was friend Anansi. He came at night and when he saw the doll he approached it and said with flattery, "Father, how are you?" There was no reply. He then said, "If you don't speak to me I'll slap you." The doll did not speak and Anansi struck him one blow. His hand stuck. He said then, "If you don't release me I'll give you another with my other hand." Anansi struck him with the other hand, and that hand stuck too. Then he said, "If you don't release me I'll butt you." Anansi butted him and his head stuck. He said then, "If you don't release me I'll kick you." Anansi kicked him. But he could do nothing more because his head, his hands and his feet were caught. There he remained stuck until they came and found him.

Then they announced that Anansi was the thief and the king said he would kill him. But before Anansi was going to die he sent for his children and said, "My children, you see I am about to die. What are you going to do for me?" Each one of his children told him a nonsensical thing. But finally the youngest one spoke to him and said, "Father, you know what I am going to do? I am going to hide in the top of a tall tree where they will put you to kill you. And I shall sing:

They are killing Anansi!  
They are killing Anansi!  
The country will be flooded.  
All the people will die.  
The king himself will perish.  
Anansi alone will remain."

Thus he did. And when the king heard the voice singing he said, "What is that?" Anansi replied, "Tye! Listen, my King. God himself pleads for me." The king said, "It is not true. A thief must be punished." Anansi said, "Tye! You will hear, my King, that it is the truth, because God will plead again for me." Soon they heard the voice again:

"They are killing Anansi!  
They are killing Anansi!  
The entire country will be flooded.  
All the people will die.  
The king himself will perish.  
Anansi alone will remain.

Then the king grew alarmed. He was afraid, and so he came to free Anansi.

The two Philippine versions are also attached to other European tales (65, 66). In the actual tar-baby episode they show a very primitive and simple pattern. In both of them a monkey is caught by a tar-baby at four points. There are the usual "no reply" formula at the start, the threats and dramatic monologue, and the monkey escapes alive. In one of the versions (66) the liberated monkey helps his liberator to find and marry a king's daughter, a version of the similar incident in one of the modern India versions (8) where the captor of a fox allows her her freedom when fox promises to marry him to a king's daughter. As we have already indicated in the discussion of that version, the incidents may have some relation to the somewhat different incident of the deceiving words of the rabbit in the Spanish-American versions to induce substitution, "They wish to marry me to a king's daughter" or "They wish to marry me to a pretty girl."

I believe that both of the Philippine versions are of European source, probably directly Spanish, although the possibility of direct transmission from India through Buddhistic channels may not seem remote. After a careful examination of the tales of Fansler's excellent volume and the scholarly notes that accompany it, I am strongly inclined to the first view. Too many of the tales show a definite European and often specifically Spanish source for one to take the second view seriously. In view of the fact that the tar-baby story has been found in Spain and also in another part of Europe, and in view of the fact that versions

of the tar-baby story have been found wherever the Spanish and Portuguese have colonized and lived how can we seriously doubt that they have been transmitted directly from Spain and Portugal to all parts of the Hispanic world?

The American-Indian versions are of special interest and importance. In general they show a closer relation to the Spanish-American than to the African or Anglo-African versions. The tar-baby story seems to be as popular and well known among the American Indians as among the Africans. I have brought together for the present study 26 versions from Africa and 23 from the North American-Indians. The Orinoco version from South America makes the total of the American Indian versions 24. This version I have already studied in connection with the Brazilian Portuguese versions to which it is apparently related. The 23 American-Indian versions that I shall now study are all from North America. Some definite statistics are necessary here.

The one robbed or who sets up the tar-baby is a human being in 56% or more of the versions from India (78%), Europe (100%), Spanish-America (77%), Portuguese versions (83%), Lesser Antilles (86%), Dutch Guiana (100%), Philippines (100%), Orinoco (100%), and the American Indians (56%). In the African and Anglo-African versions it is under 43%, Anglo-Africa 33%, Africa 42%. The African and Anglo-African versions show a tendency to substitute an animal for a man even in this element of the tale. In the case of the one caught by a tar-baby the Lesser Antilles, Dutch Guiana, Philippine and American-Indian versions have 100% animals, while the African, Anglo-African and Spanish-American versions show a definite preference for an animal with 96, 94 and 91%, respectively. India and the Portuguese versions have 89 and 67%, respectively. In Europe the one caught is a human being in both cases. As to the specific animal caught, the American-Indian versions follow the general tradition of Spanish-America, Anglo-Africa, Africa and the Lesser Antilles with a rabbit in 56% of the versions. Spanish-America and the Lesser Antilles lead with 71%. Anglo-Africa and Africa have 66 and 62%, respectively. In the Philippines it is a monkey in both versions, as we have already stated, and in the Portuguese versions the monkey appears in 50% of the versions.

With respect to what the thief steals, the American-Indian versions seem to follow African and Anglo-African tradition. The animal-thief steals water from a well and sometimes pollutes the water in 7 or 30% of the versions, as compared with 31, 39 and 71%, respectively in the African, Anglo-African, and Lesser Antilles versions. This element does not occur at all in the India, European, Spanish-American, Portuguese and Orinoco versions. In the majority of these versions the thief steals fruit or vegetables from a garden as we have already stated in discussing them. In the Spanish-American versions the percentage is 94.

In the American-Indian versions tar-baby is male in 14 or 61% of the



versions, while in the Spanish-American and Portuguese versions the percentages are 91 and 83, respectively. In Africa the tar-baby is male in only six or 23% of the versions, while in the Anglo-African versions the percentage rises to 56%, evidently through Spanish-American and general European influence, because the female tar-baby and the courtship incident are special features of the African and Anglo-African versions.

What about substitution, the outstanding feature of the Spanish-American versions? We have already called attention to the fact that it occurs in 21 or 60% of the Spanish-American versions and in 3 or 42% of the Lesser Antilles versions, as against 5 or 14% of the Anglo-African and 2 or 8% of the African versions. This element is, therefore, very rare in both the African and Anglo-African versions. But in the American-Indian versions, through Spanish-American influence undoubtedly, we find five or 22% substitution. The substitute animal is a coyote only in the Spanish-American and American-Indian versions, 31 and 13%, respectively, showing again the Spanish-American influence in the Indian versions. The special hot poker punishment of the Spanish-American versions occurs in one American-Indian version and in three Lesser Antilles versions but is unknown in Africa and Anglo-Africa.

The mock-plea, the outstanding feature of the Anglo-African versions, occurs in 5 or 22% of the American-Indian versions. In Spanish-America it is found in only 3 or 9% of the versions. In four of the five cases in which it is found in the American-Indian versions it is the typical Anglo-African "don't throw me into the briar-patch" formula. This special type of mock-plea is not found in Africa and in Spanish-America it is found only once.

We see, therefore, in the American-Indian versions a crossing of African and Anglo-African influences on the one side, stealing water from a well, special type of mock-plea, and Spanish-American and perhaps ultimately European influences on the other side, substitute animal, the total absence of the female tar-baby and the courtship incident, and especially the fact that in the Indian versions just as in the Spanish-American versions the tar-baby story is only a part, a special episode of a series of rabbit-coyote-and-others-animals tales in which most of the incidents are clearly of European source. It should be born in mind that we are dealing with groups of versions that are after all very closely related, and it is not at all unlikely that the Anglo-African and even the African versions known to us have undergone European influence through Spain and Portugal since the XVIth century and even earlier, long before some of the versions of the tar-baby story were carried to America by African slaves. That the Indian versions represent fundamentally Spanish and, in their final source, European traditions is, in my mind, quite evident. But I believe that it is equally

evident that some of the American-Indian versions and even some of the Spanish-American versions have received at least slight influence from the Anglo-African versions. This influence may have entered American-Indian tradition directly or through the Spanish-American versions.

There are some American-Indian versions that deserve special treatment. A version from the Shasta Indians of Oregon (87) is of special importance because it is a close parallel to the Jataka 55 version from India and to the Spanish version from Castile (10) in the initial incidents of the attack on the tar-man or giant. In all three cases the one caught fast by a tar-man or tarred giant is not a thief but a bully who goes out to seek and attack the giant with the sticky hair (Jataka 55), the tar-baby that will not greet him (Castilian version), or Pitch the Bad Man (Shasta Indian version). In fact Pitch the Bad Man is a personification and defies the coyote who attacks him, just as the giant with the sticky hair defies the Prince of the Five Weapons, Buddha himself, in the Jataka version of fifteen hundred years ago. In the India and Castile versions there is a five point attack and a consequent stick-fast episode at five points, while in the Indian version there is a seven-point attack and catch. The Shasta Indian version follows:

One day the coyote heard that Pitch, the Bad Man, was coming. The coyote was not afraid and when he saw him he went right out to meet him and said to him, "No matter who you are I can whip you." Pitch, the Bad Man, replied, "I can't fight with my hands."

The coyote at once struck him with his fist, and his fist stuck fast. Then he said to Pitch, "If I strike you with my left hand I'll kill you." "Go ahead and do it!" answered Pitch. The coyote then struck him with his left hand and that stuck fast also. At this point the coyote became very angry and said to Pitch, "Now I am going to kick you." And Pitch replied, "All right, go ahead and kick!" The coyote kicked and his foot stuck fast. "Now surely if I kick you with my left foot, I'll kill you," threatened the coyote. But Pitch only mocked, "Go ahead and do it! Kick with your left foot!" The coyote kicked again and his left foot stuck fast also.

When the coyote saw that both of his hands and feet were stuck fast to Pitch he shouted at the top of his voice, "Now I am going to lash you with my tail!" He did and his tail stuck fast. Then he shouted to Pitch, "I am now going to strike you with my ear and kill you." He struck Pitch with his ear and that stuck fast also. And lastly the coyote threatened to kill Pitch by bumping him with his head. He gave him a terrible blow with his head, but his head stuck fast also.

The coyote was now stuck to Pitch and could not pry himself loose. After a while his friend, the spider, came along and saw his predicament. "How can I help you?" he inquired. "Cut my hand away, but don't cut it," said the coyote. "It will be easier to burn

it away," said the spider. "Oh, no!" said the coyote. "Scrape it away!" The spider did so and after a while the coyote became free.

A pitch stump has evidently been personified here, because in two more cases the American-Indian versions have a pitch stump instead of the usual tar-baby. In the Anglo-African versions a tarred stump occurs four times.

But the American Indian versions have also some claims, and very powerful claims, to originality in their contribution to the modern versions of the tar-baby story. Certainly among the most original modern versions of the story to be found anywhere are to be included the Pueblo Indian versions from Taos, New Mexico, which I have received in manuscript from Dr. Parsons. The four Taos versions are clearly of Spanish origin. In three of the versions (72, 73, 74) a rabbit steals garden produce and is caught in the usual manner with a tar-figure. In the fourth version (75) a bat is caught with a piece of buffalo hide. In the first three the initial "no reply" incident and the dramatic monologue occur, and the attack and catch are at four or five points. In no case does the animal escape alive. But after being killed the animal comes to life again. I give below one of these extraordinary versions (74):

There was once an old Mexican woman whose husband was living and they had a very pretty girl. A rabbit was doing a lot of damage in their garden and they did not know what to do. The rabbit never came out for the old man. He put down traps but could not catch him. He found the rabbit hole. Finally he said to his wife, "My wife, I don't know what to do, this rabbit is damaging our garden so much. But tomorrow I am going after wood and I will get some piñón gum."

Next morning early he went and got some gum, made a little image and put it in the garden at night.

The rabbit came out and saw this piñón gum image. "Who are you? Who are you?" said the rabbit. "If you don't talk I am going to hit you. I am going to hit you." He hit him with his right hand. It stuck. "What do you think? Do you think I have only this one?" He hit him with his left hand, and that stuck. Then he hit him with his feet. Both feet stuck. Then he hit him with his head, and that stuck also. Now he was stuck altogether.

The old man got up early and found the rabbit caught. He told his wife to prepare hot water to clean the rabbit and to cook it with chile. "I want it cooked tender, very well done," he said.

When it was cooked the old woman put the dish on the table. They began to eat. "Be careful; don't drop any soup from your mouth," he said. As they were eating, the old woman dropped some soup from her mouth, and the rabbit came to life and ran away, upsetting all the dishes. "I told you not to drop any soup," said the old man, and they fell to quarreling over it.



In another one of the Taos versions (72) a drop of blood falls from the dead rabbit before being cooked, and then he comes to life again and runs away. This coming back to life of the animal after being killed, and even cooked, is unknown to me outside of these four Taos versions. It is the outstanding feature of all the American-Indian tar-baby stories and apparently the Indian contribution to the Spanish-American form of the tale. It is specifically a Pueblo Indian contribution from Taos. A search for more versions from the various Indian pueblos of New Mexico would reveal whether this contribution belongs to the Taos versions only or whether it is a general Pueblo Indian addition to the baustein of the tar-baby story taken from Spanish-American tradition.

After the somewhat detailed examination already made of the outstanding characteristics of the India, European, Cape Verde, Brazilian, Spanish-American, Lesser Antillean, Dutch Guiana, Orinoco, Philippine, and American-Indian versions of the tar-baby story, with a few examples of the most important and usual types, and after the detailed comparisons that I have made with the Anglo-African and African versions, it may seem unnecessary for me to examine these separately. But even at the risk of repeating in part some statements already made I will examine them briefly in order to show clearly the relation of the African and Anglo-African versions to those from India and other regions, particularly the European and Spanish-American, on the one hand, and the relation between the two African groups on the other hand.

In general the Anglo-African and African groups represent a greater variety of details in the secondary elements of the tale and at the same time greater simplicity in the individual version as a whole. In the fundamental details of the baustein both the African and Anglo-African versions are of the general India-European-Spanish-American-Portuguese type: a thief or mischief-maker is caught at four or five points by means of a tar-baby; the initial "no reply", "no salute", or getting out of the way incidents (when it is not the courtship scene, which is specifically African); the dramatic monologue, and the death or escape of the animal caught. Let us examine first the Anglo-African versions.

In my previous comparisons I have already called attention to the outstanding features of the Anglo-African versions as a group. To the fundamental baustein they have added or continued from India through African tradition the following secondary elements: the female tar-baby and the courtship episode which in some versions explains the preliminary attack on the tar-baby, the special type of mock-plea "don't throw me into the briar-patch," the stealing of water from a well that belongs to a group of animals or that has been dug by them instead of garden produce, and the partnership element or family group of dramatic characters, one of the partners or one of the members of the family being the thief. Of these four features, the first one, the female

tar-baby and the subsequent courtship do not occur in the European-Spanish-American-Portuguese-Philippine types, but it is found in India, for example in the modern Gordon version (7), and it suggested in the Samyutta Nikaya (2) and Paricistaparvan (3) versions. It is, therefore, an originally Hindu incident that has found full development in the Anglo-African versions, 8 of the 36 or 22%, and also of the African, 4 or 15%, forgotten in other parts of the world. The second element, the special type of mock-plea, "Don't throw me into the briar-patch," may be of Anglo-African invention, 18 of the 36 versions or 50%. It also exists in Spanish-America, 1 or 3%, and in the American-Indian versions, 4 or 17%, probably through Anglo-African influence. This special type of mock-plea does not occur in the African tales. The third feature, the stealing of water from a well and often polluting it, and it is a rabbit that does it most of the time, we may consider also, at least provisionally, as a real Anglo-African and also African contribution to the tar-baby tale. It is not found to my knowledge in European folklore. In the Anglo-African versions it is found in 14 or 39%, in the African 8 or 31%. In this respect the Lesser Antilles versions have the greatest African influence, if this incident is really African, with 5 of the 7 or 71%. The American-Indian versions have also Anglo-African influence here, 7 or 30%. The third feature, the partnership element, is also a distinguishing feature that may be of African source. This element occurs in 14 or 54% of the African versions, in 4 or 11% of the Anglo-African, and in 2 or 33% of the Portuguese versions.

It is difficult to give a typical Anglo-African version in spite of the four distinguishing and characteristic features above mentioned. The fact that the animal caught is a rabbit is not a special characteristic of the Anglo-African or African versions. Spanish-America and the Lesser Antilles have the highest percentage of the rabbit, 71%, Anglo-Africa and Africa follow with 66 and 62%, respectively. The special type of mock-plea which occurs in 50% of the versions and the female tar-baby and courtship episode are the only features that are really outstanding. The Harris "wonderful tar-baby story" lacks the second of these two features. In fact it has none of the African characteristics outside of the special type of mock-plea. The story follows, told in plain English:

One day after Brer Rabbit had fooled him with the calamus root Brer Fox set up a tar-baby in the middle of the road, and then he hid in the bushes to see what would happen. He didn't wait very long, for by and by there came Brer Rabbit pacing down the road. When he came upon the tar-baby he stood up on his hind legs very much astonished. "Good morning!" said Brer Rabbit. "Nice weather this morning!" Tar-baby made no reply. "Are you deaf?" said Brer Rabbit. "If you are I can holler louder." Tar-baby kept still and Brer Rabbit said, "You are stuck up, that is what you



are. And I am going to cure you. I am going to teach you to talk to respectable people if it is the last thing I do. If you don't take off your hat and tell me 'How do you do' I am going to kill you."

Brer Rabbit kept on asking and the tar-baby made no reply. Finally he raised his fist and struck tar-baby on the side of the head. It stuck. "If you don't let me loose I'll knock you again," said Brer Rabbit, and saying this he struck with his other hand, and that stuck also. "Turn me loose or I'll knock the stuffing out of you," said Brer Rabbit, and he struck with his feet and they also stuck. Then he cried to the tar-baby to let him go otherwise he would butt him with his head. And he butted and his head stuck.

At that moment Brer Fox came out and laughed and laughed until he could laugh no more. He went then to prepare the fire to roast Brer Rabbit. "I don't care what you do with me, Brer Fox," said Brer Rabbit. "You can roast me if you want to, but don't fling me into that briar-patch." Brer Fox in turn threatened to hang, to skin and to drown Brer Rabbit, and Brer Rabbit consented to everything except that he be thrown into the briar-patch. Brer Fox then caught him by the hind legs and threw him into the briar-patch. In this way he escaped.

The story is well told, but the fact remains that of the four characteristics of the Anglo-African versions already mentioned, this version has only one, the special type of mock-plea, "Don't throw me into the briar-patch." Curiously enough the initial cause for the attack on the tar-baby is absolutely European, "no reply" and "no salute" exactly as in my Castilian version. The version is not one of the best of the Anglo-African versions and certainly not a typical one when it has only one of the four dominant characteristics of those versions. If we complete the version, making the rabbit specifically a thief the Uncle Remus version is similar to other Anglo-African and Spanish-American versions, if in these last we omit the substitution and subsequent incidents. Of such a general type, however, the Anglo-African versions are not numerous. The following may be classified as such: (94, 108, 117, 120). The number would be increased if we were to add the versions where the animal caught is specifically a thief who steals water from a well.

The typical Anglo-African versions are, therefore, of other types. One of the most important is the type where the thief steals water from a well or spring. The well belongs to a group of animals that own it or have dug it, or specifically to a certain person. There are 14 of the 36 Anglo-African versions that belong to this type, or 39%. In these 14 versions it is the rabbit that steals the water and often pollutes 13 times, or in 93% of the cases. Not all these stories end in the same way, however. The variety of details in the various Anglo-African versions, even in a recognized type such as the above, is indeed extraordinary. In four of the fourteen we have the female tar-baby and the courtship



scene, and in these four the rabbit escapes through the mock-plea into the briar-patch. In the remaining ten of the water-stealing and polluting versions the rabbit is caught in nine and Anansi, the spider, in one by the usual male tar-baby in the usual manner; and in eight of the versions the rabbit escapes also into the briar-patch through the mock-plea. These fourteen water-stealing and polluting versions, or 39% of the total of the Anglo-African versions, four of which have also the African and Anglo-African female tar-baby and courtship scene, represent, therefore a specifically Anglo-African type. There are four more versions that have the female tar-baby and courtship scene, although of a different type, making the total number of versions with female tar-baby and courtship scene 8 or 22% of the total. This then is the outstanding Anglo-African type of tar-baby version, water-stealing with the animal partnership and often with the female tar-baby and courtship.

Special features of the Anglo-African versions are the following: Instead of a tar-baby we have a tarred stump in four versions and a bucket of tar in two versions. The tarred stump has a hat on in two cases. A tarred stump appears also in three American-Indian versions. The bucket of tar is of course the traditional bucket of tar of the European versions of the tale of the master-thief. The witch-baby of the African versions appears only once in the 36 Anglo-African versions, Parsons, Andros Islands (102). The one caught in this version is a man and he is caught through the courtship episode. There are three cases of a man being caught in the Anglo-African versions or 8% of the total. There are 13 in the 152 versions studied or 9%, our 3 from Anglo-Africa, 3 from Spanish-America, 2 from Europe (100%), 2 Portuguese, 1 from India, 1 from the Orinoco Indians, and 1 from Africa.

The rabbit as the thief and offender appears in the Spanish-American versions in all types in 25 or 71% of the versions, whereas in the Anglo-African versions the percentage is 66 and in the African 62. But in the Anglo-African versions it is predominantly a rabbit, in the water-stealing and polluting versions, 13 of the 14 or 93%, while in the total number of versions of other types the rabbit appears only in 11 of the 22 cases, or 41%. Substitution, the outstanding feature of the Spanish-American versions, 60%, and which appears also in great proportions in the Lesser Antilles versions, 42%, and occurs in the American-Indian versions through Spanish-American influence in 22% of the versions, is found in only 14% of the Anglo-African versions.

To resume, then, we find only one special and general type of Anglo-African tar-baby version, the one that has the water-stealing and polluting incidents and often the female tar-baby and courtship scene, 39% of the versions. But there are four outstanding characteristics, secondary elements that have been fully developed, even if some go back to India as a source: the water-stealing and polluting incidents, the

partnership or family group of dramatic characters, the female tar-baby and courtship incident, and the special type of mock-plea, "Don't throw me into the briar-patch."

As for individual types there are at least two that deserve special mention. In a Jamaica version of Beckwith (91) Tacoomah and Anansi are neighbors and farmers.

When Anansi has eaten all his produce he begins to steal from Tacoomah. Tacoomah prepares a tarred stump and Anansi is caught in the usual manner at five points. A goat then passes by, and Anansi asks him to buck the stump. The goat bucks the tarred stump and his head sticks while Anansi's head comes off. Anansi then asks him to kick the stump with his feet. The goat does so and his feet stick while Anansi's two hands come off. He then asks the goat to push, and he pushes and his two front feet stick while Anansi's two feet come off.

Anansi then goes home and the next day he and Tacoomah find the goat stuck. The goat tells Tacoomah the true story, but Tacoomah does not believe him. They kill the goat and eat it.

This remarkable version is in reality two tar-baby versions in one. The last part, the goat that is gradually stuck fast to the tarred stump upon orders from Anansi is exactly like the stick-fast episode of the Lithuanian version, where the laume or witch is stuck fast as she strikes in the usual fashion with hands, feet and stomach on the tarred horse upon the advise and orders of the oldest brother. The idea of Anansi coming off the tarred stump while the goat is being stuck, however, is quite original and extraordinary. There are two more Anglo-African versions quite similar to this (124, 125), both from the Philadelphia Negroes, in which a goat and a racoon are the substitute animals that get stuck while the animal first caught gets loose, but the versions are fragmentary and there is no detailed and gradual point by point catch and release. I know of no other versions that have this extraordinary incident. In one Spanish-American (37), and in the African version of Chatelain (128), however, the animal that comes to help the one first caught gets caught also; two become caught fast.

There is another Jamaican version, also by Beckwith (92), that deserves special mention, not because it is unique among the tar-baby versions, but because it is an Anglo-African version from Africa. In view of the fact that the similarity between the Anglo-African and African versions is not as pronounced as we should expect, if we think of the possibility of direct relation and direct transmission from Africa, this version is of special interest and importance. This is in my opinion one Anglo-African tar-baby version that has certainly come directly from Africa. The possibility that the version could have developed in Anglo-Africa and travelled from America to Africa seems to me quite remote. A similar version has been found in Santo Domingo (13), one



that I have already given and discussed. I give the Anglo-African version complete:

Once Mrs. Anansi had a large field which she planted with peas. Anansi her husband was so lazy that he would never do any work. And he was so afraid they would give him none of the peas that he pretended to be sick. After about nine days he called his wife and children and told them he was going to die. As a last request he asked them to bury him in the field of peas and to leave a hole in the coffin so that he could watch the peas for them even when dead. So he pretended he was dead and they buried him. Every night at twelve o'clock he came out of the coffin, picked a bundle of peas, boiled it, ate it and then went back into the grave to rest. Mrs. Anansi was surprised to see all her peas being stolen.

One day her eldest son said to her, "Mother, I bet you it's my father stealing those peas." At that Mrs. Anansi got into a temper, and said, "How could you expect your dead father to rob the peas?" He replied, "Well, mother, I will prove it to you." He got some tar and painted a stump with it at the head of the grave and put a hat on it. When Anansi came out for this midnight feast he saw this thing standing in the ground. "Good evening, sir," he said. He received no reply and again, "Good evening, sir," he said. Still there was no reply, so he said to him, "If you don't speak to me I'll kick you." He raised his foot and kicked the stump and it stuck. "Let me go, let me go, sir, or I'll knock you down with my right hand." That hand stuck fast. "If you don't let me go, I'll hit you with my left hand." That hand stuck also. He then raised his left foot and gave the stump a terrible blow. That foot stuck also. Anansi was suspended in the air and had to remain there till morning. He was so ashamed that he climbed up beneath the rafters and there he is to this day.

I now give the African version with which it is most certainly related, and this will serve at the same time as one of the best examples, although not typical, of the African tar-baby stories which we are now going to examine. It is one of the fascinating African tales published by Barker and Sinclair (127).

Egya Anansi was a very skillful farmer. He, with his wife and son, set to work one year to prepare a farm, much larger than any they had previously worked. Anansi, however, was an exceedingly selfish and greedy man, and when the harvest was ready he called his wife and son to him and said, "We have all three worked hard to prepare these fields. We will now gather in the harvest and pack it away in our barns. When that is done we shall be in need of a rest. I propose that you and our son should go back to our home in the village and remain there at ease for two or three weeks. I have to go to the coast on very urgent business." Anansi's wife



and son thought this a very good plan. They went straight back to their village, leaving the cunning husband who did not have the slightest intention of going on his proposed journey.

Instead, he built himself a very comfortable hut near the farm, supplied it with all manner of cooking utensils, gathered in a large store of the corn and vegetables from the barn and prepared for a solitary feast. This went on for a fortnight. By that time Anansi's son thought it was time for him to go and weed the farm. He accordingly went there and worked several hours on it. While passing the barn he looked in, and great was his surprise to see that more than half of their harvest was gone. Returning to the village he told the people there what had happened, and they helped him to make a rubber-man. When evening came they took it to the farm and put it in the fields to frighten the thieves.

When all was dark Anansi came as usual to fetch more food. On his way to the barn he saw the figure of the man and was at first very much frightened. Finding that the man did not move, however, he approached and said, "What do you want here?" There was no answer and he repeated his question. Again there was no answer and Anansi became very angry and dealt the figure a blow on the cheek with his right hand. It stuck. "How dare you hold my hand?" he exclaimed. "Let me go at once or I shall hit you again." He then hit the figure with his left hand, which also stuck. He then tried to disengage himself by pushing against it with his knees and body, until, finally, knees, body, hands and head were all firmly attached to the rubber-man. When his son came out with the other villagers to catch the robber they were astonished to find that the evil-doer was Anansi himself. He, on the other hand, was so ashamed to be caught in the act of greediness that he changed himself into a spider and took refuge in a dark corner of the ceiling lest any one should see him. Since then spiders have always been found in dark, dusty corners, where people are not likely to notice them.

It is hardly necessary to point out the similarity between the two versions. Their identity is beyond question. The version of Cronise-Ward (129) is another African form of the Barker-Sinclair version. The husband who plays dead is merely given a good beating in this version and he does not become a spider. I have already pointed out that one of the Santo Domingo versions (13) is also a fragmentary form of the African story. Here we have, then, a case of definite relationship between the African and the Spanish-American versions from the Greater Antilles. But it is the only definite and absolutely sure case. In other cases we have often a general similarity of some incidents, especially those that are related to the fundamental elements of the tale which are of course almost identical in all the 152 versions studied. This definite case of

relationship between the African and American versions is a very exceptional case, an individual version, and certainly not a type. Some of the special characteristics of the African versions are precisely of this character, individual and not outstanding features of general types.

Let us now examine the African versions as a group. There are 26 versions from all parts of Africa.

In about the same proportion as the Anglo-African versions the dramatic characters involved are animals. In the case of the one caught by a tar-baby it is a man only once, the case of the man who became a spider in the version just given. The animal partnership occurs in a larger proportion than any other group, showing that it is a distinctly African feature. The figures are: Africa 14 of the 26 versions or 56%, Anglo-Africa 4 or 11%, and the Portuguese versions 2 or 33%. The water-stealing episode occurs in 8 or 31% of the versions, apparently an African and Anglo-African feature also, but it is more frequent in the Lesser Antilles, 71%, and Anglo-Africa, 39%. Among the American-Indians it is 30 %, perhaps through Anglo-African or Hispanic-African influence. The incident is actually unknown in the Spanish-American versions that have otherwise influenced the American-Indian versions, perhaps have been their common source. The water-stealing episode, as a matter of fact, does not occur at all in the India-Europe-Hispanic-America-Philippine groups.

The female tar-baby is found in greater proportion than in the Anglo-African versions, 35% as against 22%, but not as commonly as in India or the Lesser Antilles, where the figures are 44% and 42%, respectively. The courtship episode, however, not merely suggested but actually acted and causing the catch at the first point, is apparently an African and Anglo-African feature, 15 and 22%, respectively. In the Lesser Antilles we have 14%, but as such it is unknown in the other groups. In two cases the courtship episode is more than mere courtship. It is the case of the sensual monkey (in one case it is a spider in the African versions) of the India versions of the *Samyutta Nikaya* (2) and *Paricistaparvan* (3) versions. In one of the versions (146) the female tar-baby is described as being made with beautiful neck and breasts and the spider sticks as he approaches to touch it through amorous impulse. In the other version, Chatelain's version from Angola (128), several female tar-figures similarly prepared are placed on a tree. A monkey and a hare court them, serenade them, and finally the sensual monkey jumps up to embrace one of them and remains stuck. The hare goes up to help and remains stuck also. I give below a resumé of the stick fast episode of this extraordinary African female tar-baby and courtship version.

A monkey and a hare steal from a leopard's orchard. Upon the advise of an old man the leopard digs holes under a tree to catch them but does not succeed. Then the old man advises the leopard to make wooden images of girls. "We shall make images; images

of girls, with their eyes, with their breasts, with their ears, with their noses, with their mouths. Thou shalt pierce their ears and put on earrings; thou shalt fetch beads and red-wood; thou shalt smear the red-wood; thou shalt tap gum of the wild fig-tree, and smear too; small ropes also thou shalt fetch. Thou, Mr. Leopard, thou shalt climb up the tree and set up the images."

The hare and the monkey arrive when the images are set up. When the hare sees the images he says to the monkey, "Ah, friend! O Monkey! Come to see the girls who are up on the tree." As soon as the monkey saw them he said to them, "You girls, how do you do?" They did not reply. "Are you ashamed?" continued the monkey. They made no reply. "Are you hungry?" added the monkey. Still there was no reply. Then the hare said, "Eh, friend! What have you at home?" "I have a sheep at home," said the monkey. "And what have you at home?" said the monkey. "I have a hog at home," said the hare.

They went home, killed the pig, cut it and put it in the pot. They prepared a meal and took it with a jug of water and a mat to the tree.

"You girls come down and we shall eat now," said the monkey. They did not come down. "Are you bashful?" said the monkey. They did not reply. Then he said to the hare, "Let us go, please, for they are bashful with us."

When they went away the leopard came out and ate and drank everything. Then the hare arrived and called to the monkey, "Eh, friend, the girls have eaten." Then they go home and come back, the monkey bringing his banjo. They begin to play and dance. "You girls, come down and we will dance," said the monkey and the hare. They did not come down. Then the monkey played the banjo and danced. Then he jumped up to the girls and as he was going to smack (smacking of stomachs, an Angola dance custom) he stuck to the gum. Then he cried out to the hare, "O friend! Come and see this young woman holding me." The hare throws the banjo on the ground and goes up to smack. He gets stuck on the gum also, and says, "Woe to me! We are stuck, comrade!"

The leopard arrives, gives them both a good beating and takes them home in a bag. In the end both escape.

A witch-baby catches the animal-thief three times in the African versions, as against one case each from Anglo-Africa, Spanish-America, and the American-Indians. The case of the female figure with movable hands that catches the animal-thief in the Gordon version from India (7) we might also consider a female witch-baby, but it is not so stated in the tale.

The tarred stump and bucket of tar of the Anglo-African (and rarely also of the American-Indian and Hispanic versions, no tarred stump in



the last) does not occur at all in the African versions. The two cases of a bucket of tar in the Anglo-African versions are evidently under European influence, perhaps through Hispanic or Hispanic-African traditions.

In 5 of the 26 versions, 19%, the animal-thief is not caught by a tar-baby at all but by a live tortoise. This live tortoise trap does not occur in any of the versions of any other group, except the Mauritius version, which is evidently of African origin. In one of the tortoise-trap versions, the Zambesian version (151) the tortoise catches with its own hands a hare that comes to steal water and point by point as in the usual multiple-point attack and catch versions, while in the four remaining cases and also in the Mauritius version the tortoise is smeared with tar or some other sticky substance so that it is really a tar-baby.

In a greater proportion than in any other group, except the Lesser Antilles, the African versions omit the initial "no reply" incident, and the animal through mere greediness is caught at the first point when he approaches to eat or drink, 7 versions or 27%. In the Lesser Antilles the percentage is 28 and in India 22. Here we have a definite relation in secondary incidents between Africa and India, and I have no hesitation in saying that I believe India is the source.

The mock-plea, the outstanding feature of the Anglo-African versions, 56%, is found in 8 or 31% of the African versions; but curiously enough the outstanding Anglo-African type of mock-plea, "Don't throw me into the briar-patch," which occurs in 18 of the 20 Anglo-African cases of mock-plea, never occurs. The nearest approach is the mock-plea of the Zambesian version (151) where the hare that has been captured by a live tortoise begs that he should not be thrown against a tree for he will surely die. Two of the cases, the two versions by Honey from South Africa (132, 133), present a new type of mock-plea, "Don't swing me by the tail (greased)."

If we take into consideration both occurrence and proportion of occurrence we find that the outstanding features of the African versions are: the female tar-baby with its courtship episode (also an Anglo-African feature); the animal partnership and water-stealing incidents (also Anglo-African); the live-tortoise trap; and in a small degree the special type of mock-plea, "Don't swing me by the tail (greased)," and the playing-dead episode. Of all these features, the female tar-baby has been developed more fully in Africa, but it is certainly of Hindu origin as I have already stated. The courtship incident may be merely a development of the moral suggested in the Samyutta Nikaya and Paricistaparvan versions. From the view point of development in the modern versions, however, the female tar-baby and courtship episode combined are specifically African and Anglo-African characteristics. The water-stealing and animal partnership are also specifically African and Anglo-African characteristics. The mock-plea is common to both, but the

actual kind of pleas are different. The tortoise trap and the hare playing-dead incident are specifically African. The African versions, therefore, are similar to the Anglo-African versions in only three features that are not common to the other groups, the female tar-baby and courtship incident, the water-stealing and polluting incident, with the animal-partnership involved, and the mock-plea in the general sense.

The version from Mauritius of Baissac (152) I have already cited. It belongs clearly with the African water-stealing and polluting type and has also the tarred tortoise. The well from which the hare steals the water and which it pollutes, however, belongs to a king, as in the Lesser Antilles, and not to the animals in partnership. There is of course no substitution and the hare is killed outright after the tortoise walks into the presence of the king with it stuck to its back. In most of the African versions of this type the tortoise arrives with the hare stuck to its back also, but it often escapes alive, eight times through the mock-plea.

The outstanding features of the various groups may be more clearly envisaged from the following chart. A double  $\times\times$  indicates full development and a numerically dominant characteristic, a single  $\times$  indicates development but a numerically unimportant characteristic. A blank space indicates total absence of the element in question, and an ( $\times$ ) an occurrence numerically insignificant to the point that it may be considered absent.

If in the above chart of special features we put the emphasis only on the double letters we see at a glance that the really significant contributions to the original, primitive baustein of the tar-baby story are very few. Spanish-America has inherited the India-Europe tradition and added and fully developed the substitution element and the special types of punishment for the substitute animal. Spanish-America, Anglo-Africa and the American-Indians have substituted a rabbit or hare for the monkey, jackal or other animal of the Hindu tales. Africa and Anglo-Africa have developed and added the mock-plea and female tar-baby and courtship episodes. Africa alone has developed the live-tortoise trap. Africa and Anglo-Africa, and above all the Lesser Antilles, have developed fully the water-stealing element. The American Indians of Taos have added the incident of the coming back to life of the dead animal.

#### IV

##### STATISTICAL TABLES OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OR INCIDENTS FOUND IN THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-TWO VERSIONS STUDIED

The various elements or incidents, fifty-six in number, are classified and numbered, giving the number of occurrences and the percentages of occurrences for each item, both from the view-point of the total number of one hundred and fifty-two versions and from the view-point of the number of versions in each one of the geographical or racial groups.





	India versions	European	Spanish-American	Portuguese	Orinoco	Lesser Antilles	Dutch Guiana	Philippines	American-Indian	Anglo-African	African	Mauritius
<i>Total versions</i> 152												
1. The one who sets up the tar-baby is a man or woman: 90 or 59%	9 78%	2 100%	35 77%	6 83%	1 100%	7 86%	4 100%	2 100%	23 52%	36 33%	26 42%	1 100%
2. The one who sets up the tar-baby is an animal: 58 or 38%	2 22%		8 23%	1 17%		1 14%			9 39%	24 66%	13 50%	1 100%
3. Just animals (in partnership or not): 18 or 12%									2 9%	7 19%	9 35%	
4. It is a tiger: 8 or 5%			6 17%			1 14%				1 3%		
5. It is a fox or wolf: 13 or 9%				1 17%					1 4%	11 30%		
6. The one caught fast by the tar-baby is a man: 13 or 9%	1 11%	2 100%	3 9%	2 33%	1 100%					3 8%	1 4%	
7. It is an animal: 139 or 91%	8 89%		32 91%	4 67%		7 100%	4 100%	2 100%	23 100%	33 92%	25 96%	1 100%
8. It is a rabbit (or hare in the African versions): 85 or 56%	1 11%		25 71%			5 71%			13 56%	24 66%	16 62%	1 100%
9. It is a monkey: 12 or 8%	2 22%		3 9%	3 50%			1 25%	2 100%			1 4%	
10. The one caught fast by the tar-baby is a thief: 132 or 87%	4 44%		33 94%	6 100%		6 86%	4 100%	2 100%	17 73%	34 94%	25 96%	1 100%
11. He steals fruit or vegetables or just food: 98 or 64%	4 44%		33 94%	4 67%		3 42%	4 100%	2 100%	9 39%	21 58%	18 69%	
12. He steals water from a well or spring and sometimes pollutes the water: 35 or 23%						5 71%			7 30%	14 39%	8 31%	1 100%

	India versions	European	Spanish-American	Portuguese	Orinoco	Lesser Antilles	Dutch Guiana	Philippines	American-Indian	Anglo-African	African	Mauritius
<i>Total versions 152</i>												
13. The animal of 12 is a rabbit: 31 or 20%	9	2	35	6	1	7 4 55%	4	2	23 7 30%	36 13 36%	26 6 23%	1 1 100%
14. The one caught by the tar-baby is a bully or mischief-maker, but not a thief: 13 or 9%	2	2	2		1				4 17%	1	1	
15. Tar-baby is male: 92 or 60%	22%	100%	6%		100%				15 65%	3% 56%	4% 25%	
16. Tar-baby is female: 27 or 18%	2	1	32	5		4 55%	4 100%	2 100%	2 9%	20 8	7 9	
17. It is a witch-baby (male or female) or a fetish: 6 or 4%	22%	50%	91%	83%		3 42%			2 9%	22%	35%	
18. It is a tar-stump, a pitch-stump, in two cases with a hat on: 7 or 5%	4		1						1 4%	1	3	
19. It is a bucket of tar: 4 or 3%	44%		3%						4% 3	3% 4	11%	
20. It is a live tortoise (tarred five times and once it does the catching itself: 6 or 4%			1	1					13%	11%		
21. It is a tarred horse: 1 or less than 1%		1 50%	3%	17%					2 6%			
22. It is man with sticky hair: 1 or less than 1%	1										5 19%	1 100%
23. It is sticky ointment or tar placed on the ground or on the gate: 5 or 3%	11% 2 22%								1 4%		2 8%	

	India versions	European	Spanish-American	Portuguese	Orinoco	Lesser Antilles	Dutch Guiana	Philippines	American-Indian	Anglo-African	African	Mauritius
<i>Total versions</i> 152	9	2	35	6	1	7	4	2	23	36	26	1
24. It is just a trap, the character of it not well defined: 4 or 3%			1 3%		1 100%					1 3%	1 4%	
25. Reason for beginning the attack: Because tar-baby will not reply, greet the new-comer or get out of the way: 102 or 67%	3	2	29	6		6	4	2	15	20	14	1
26. Because the thief wishes to eat or drink and he begins to get stuck doing it: 15 or 11%	2		1			2			1	2	7	
27. Because tar-baby will not play cards: 6 or 4%	22%		3% 6 17%	100%		28%	100%	100%	4%	6%	54%	100%
28. Because the new-comer is going to make love to tar-baby (female): 13 or 9%												
29. He sees tar-baby or looks for it and attacks at once: 8 or 5%	1		2		1	1				8	4	
30. The dramatic monologue, "If you don't let go of my right hand I'll hit you with my left hand, etc." 121 or 80%	11%		6%		100%	14%			2	22%	15%	
									9%	3%	1	
31. Caught fast at five points: hands and feet, and head (or mouth) or stomach: 60 or 39%	5	2	26	6		6	4	2	13	34	22	1
	55%	100%	74%	100%		86%	100%	100%	56%	94%	85%	100%
	4	2	12	1		1			13	19	7	1
	44%	100%	34%	17%		14%			56%	53%	27%	100%





	India versions	European	Spanish-American	Portuguese	Orinoco	Lesser Antilles	Dutch Guiana	Philippines	American-Indian	Anglo-African	African	Mauritius
<i>Total versions</i> 152	9	2	35	6	1	7	4	2	23	36	26	1
42. It is a tiger: 7 or 5%			4 11%			3 42%						
43. "They want, me to marry the king's daughter", or "They want me to marry a pretty girl." 13 or 9%			11 31%			1 14%				1 3%		
44. "They give plenty of food, chicken, etc." 13 or 9%			6 17%			2 28%			4 17%	1 3%		
45. The substitute animal is scalded with hot water: 7 or 5%			7 20%									
46. The substitute animal is stuck with a hot poker, sometimes in the anus: 11 or 7%			7 20%			3 42%			1 4%			
47. Mock-plea of the one caught fast: 38 or 25%	1 11%		3 9%			1 14%			5 22%	20 56%	8 31%	
48. "Don't throw me into the briar-patch". 23 or 15%			1 3%						4 17%	18 50%		
49. "Don't swing me by the tail (greased)". 2 or 1%											2 8%	
50. The one caught fast escapes alive: 116 or 76%	5 55%		32 91%	3 50%	1 100%	4 57%	4 100%	2 100%	16 70%	30 83%	19 73%	
51. The one caught fast is killed: 26 or 17%	4 44%	2 100%	3 9%	3 50%					7 30%	1 3%	5 19%	1

	India versions	European	Spanish American	Portuguese	Orinoco	Lesser Antilles	Dutch Guiana	Philippines	American-Indian	Anglo-African	African	Mauritius
<i>Total versions</i> 152	9	2	35	6	1	7	4	2	23	36	26	0
52. The animal caught fast is killed and then comes to life again when a drop of his blood falls to the ground, or when it is cooked for a meal and a portion of meat, gravy or soup falls to the ground: 4 or 3%									4 17%			
53. Partnership or family group of dramatic characters: 23 or 15%			2 6%	2 33%					1 4%	4 11%	14 54%	
54. Three or four tar-figures and the initial episode of the race combined: 2 or 1%			2 6%									
55. The animal caught fast is burned alive together with the tar-figure by a brother, nephew or the people, 3 or 2%				1 17%					1 4%		1 4%	
56. The tar-baby story attached to the tale of the master-thief: 2 or 1%				2 33%								



Fractions of percentage are not given. The tables attempt to give a complete outline and account of all the different elements that enter into the formation of all the one hundred and fifty-two versions or different folktales, the elements or incidents of the original, primitive baustein as well as all the secondary and even some apparently insignificant incidents.

## V

## THE BAUSTEIN

There are no set rules for the determination of the fundamental, primitive motif of a folktale. Folklorists, scientists in any field of investigation, are frequently in disagreement with respect to method and interpretation. Figures alone do not always tell us the whole story, but numerical superiority cannot be disregarded. Frequency in the appearance of certain elements of a tale in widely separated regions that have had cultural relations and folktale transmission is certainly to be considered as an important factor in the theoretical reconstruction of the dominant and primitive features of any folktale. Chronology is also of paramount importance. There is no question in my mind about the relation of the modern versions of the tar-baby story with the Jataka 55, Samyutta Nikaya, and Paricistaparvan versions from India, for example, and I have not hesitated to study them together with the rest of the one hundred and fifty-two versions, but at the same time these three old versions are of greater importance than any three or even a score of the modern versions. It is true that a modern version taken from oral tradition may often have elements that are as old as those recorded in versions that are over a thousand years old, but nevertheless, early recorded versions have always a great weight in comparative studies.

In view of the fact that we have only three old versions in a study of one hundred and fifty-two, all we can do is to study them together with the rest. With the exception of the three ancient versions from India all the versions studied are popular versions collected in modern times, the first one being the European version of Schleicher published in 1857. That a large majority of the one hundred and fifty-two versions contain the primitive and fundamental elements of the baustein is in my opinion beyond question. Just what elements enter into the baustein one cannot state with categorical precision. In my statistical tables in Part IV, I give the complete data for the fifty-six items, elements or incidents that enter into the formation of all the versions studied. Some of these incidents are numerically insignificant for the versions as a whole and are most certainly special characteristics of the modern versions of certain definite regions, the African live-tortoise trap, for example (item 20). It is no easy task to determine what constitutes numerical superiority to the point that one may consider a given element as general to the majority of the versions and as part of the bau-

stein. After a courageous attempt to include in the baustein all those items that appear in more than 50% of the versions, I found that only ten elements went over that figure, and I was gratified to see that these ten actually occur in 57% or more of the versions. But for the sake of still greater accuracy in the determination of the constitutive elements of the baustein I have disregarded the three lowest in frequency, items 1, 8, and 15. I have then combined 1 and 2 into one element (although they may be kept apart if one wishes), 15 and 16 into one element (tar-baby being then either male or female), and 31, 32, 33 into one element (this giving us the multiple attack and catch at four, five or six points). The result is nine different elements (element HH is merely another form of H with the multiple attack and catch more inclusive and more general) that actually occur in 64% or more of the versions. This high frequency of occurrence, from 64 to 97%, seems to me to justify my considering them the constitutive elements of the baustein.

A statistical outline of the nine different and combined elements that apparently constitute the baustein of the tar-baby story follows:

Element A: Items 1 and 2.

Item 1. The one who sets up the tar-baby is

a man ..... 90 or 59%

Item 2. It is an animal ..... 58 or 38%

Items 1 and 2 combined. The one who sets up the tar-baby is a man or an animal 148 or 97%

Element B: Item 7. The one caught fast by the tar-baby

is a thief ..... 132 or 87%

Element D: Item 11. He steals fruit or vegetables or

just food ..... 98 or 64%

Element E: Items 15 and 16.

Item 15. Tar-baby is male ..... 92 or 60%

Item 16. Tar-baby is female ..... 27 or 18%

Items 15 and 16 combined. It is a tar-baby, male or female ..... 119 or 78%

Element F: Item 25. The attack begins because tar-baby will not reply, greet the new-comer, or get

out of the way when asked to do so.... 102 or 67%

Element G: Item 3. The dramatic monologue .....

121 or 80%

Element H: Items 31, 32, and 33 combined. The attack

and catch episode at five (31), four (32), or

six (33) points ..... 124 or 82%

Element HH: Items 31, 32, 33, and 34 combined. The

attack and catch episode at two, three, four,

five or six points. Just a multiple attack and

catch ..... 136 or 90%

Element I: Item 50. The one caught fast escapes alive 116 or 76%

The original baustein or primitive and fundamental version of the tar-baby story was probably of the following type:

1. A man or an animal has a garden or orchard, or just food put away somewhere. 2. A certain animal (a jackal, a monkey, a hare or rabbit, etc.) comes night after night to steal the garden produce, the fruit or the food. 3. The man or animal wishes to catch the thief and sets up a tar-figure, male or female (tar-man, tar-woman, tar-monkey, etc.). 4. The thief approaches to steal and when he sees the tar-figure he tries to engage him in conversation or tells him to get out of the way. 5. Receiving no reply the animal-thief begins the attack, striking first with the right hand or paw. 6. This sticks or is held fast and the animal then begins the dramatic monologue with the usual threats, "If you don't let go of my right hand I'll hit you with my left hand, etc." 7. The dramatic monologue and the attacks continue, and the thief is finally caught fast at four (two hands and two feet), five (two hands and two feet, and head or stomach), or even six points (two hands and two feet, head and stomach) points. 8. The next day the man or animal finds his thief well caught. 9. Although frequently punished the animal-thief escapes alive.

Some may object to the inclusion of Element D in the original baustein, believing that Element C, just a thief in general without specifying the nature of the theft, suffices. This is a matter of opinion. The water-stealing versions, which are 23% of the total of 152, are of African elaboration and I do not believe that they belong to the baustein. For that reason I prefer the specific theft of garden produce or food in general as the stolen elements in the baustein. As a matter of fact some of the outstanding and best old and modern versions have no thief at all, as I have many times indicated, but I believe such versions are early elaborations from the primitive baustein, Jataka 55, my Castilian version, or the Orinoco version, for example.

From the original baustein other types soon developed, for example the type in which all the dramatic characters are human, the female tar-baby and courtship type, the substitution type, the water-stealing and polluting type, and probably the type in which the thief escapes through a ruse. Confusion with other tales also begins early, for example confusion with the tale of the master-thief and with the John the Bear type. The Jataka 55 version and the two European versions, the Lithuanian and the Castilian, belong to an all-human characters type developed very early in India. But apparently the animal-thief type existed before in India, for the Samyutta Nikaya version, which is the oldest of all (probably two thousand years old) is not very different from the theoretical baustein already established. The primitive types appear already differentiated in India in the oldest version known. The confusion with the tale of the master-thief begins early also, probably in India. The two examples from the Cape Verde Islands may come from India through European tradition.



Other developments are of less importance in the study of the tale. We may call them secondary elements, although some of them are already suggested in the ancient versions. As I have already stated, the female tar-baby, the courtship episode, the substitution element, the marrying the king's daughter, the objects that are thrown at the tar-figure and that stick before the regular multiple attack and catch, are elements definitely outlined or suggested in the ancient and modern India versions, and developed fully in versions from other countries later. All of these elements we can very properly call the secondary elements that characterize the modern versions, the special contributions of the people of the various geographical and racial groups to the original baustein that has been transmitted from India through direct and indirect channels. These secondary elements are precisely those that may often differ considerably in the modern versions, elements that sometimes, at least in their full development, may reveal the racial characteristics or spirit of a race or people, but which count for little as baustein-determining factors in the scientific study of folktales. The great differences in these secondary details and also the frequent confusion with other folktales create the pitfalls into which the inexperienced folklorist easily falls and loses sight of the dominant features or baustein of a folktale.

From the following chart it will be clearly seen how utterly illogical it is to suppose for a moment that the versions from the various groups studied are not related. India, Spanish-America, the Portuguese versions, Lesser Antilles, Dutch Guiana, the Philippines, the American-Indians, Anglo-Africa and Africa have all, absolutely all the elements of the baustein in most of the versions, the lowest figure being 33% for Element F in the India versions, and the figure 100% occurring for all the elements of the various groups forty-three times. Europe lacks four of the nine elements, Orinoco six and Mauritius two. This is to be expected when we have only two versions from Europe and only one each from the last two regions. Element H, items 31, 32, 33, the multiple attack and catch, the most significant and most important features of the tar-baby story, are found in all, absolutely all the groups.

#### CONCLUSIONS

India is the original home of the tar-baby story. From India the original baustein already differentiated into two or three types passed into Europe, and later into Africa. In Europe the all-human characters type prevailed, and the tale was confused with the tale of the master-thief and other folktales. In Africa the tale developed soon certain special features, the female tar-baby and courtship elements, which are, of course, of India origin, and other African traits, such as the mock-plea, the animal or family group of dramatic characters with

	India versions	European	Spanish-American	Portuguese	Orinoco	Lesser Antilles	Dutch Guiana	Philippines	American-Indian	Anglo-African	African	Mauritius
<i>Total versions</i> 152 .....	9	2	35	6	1	7	4	2	23	36	26	1
Element A: Items 1 and 2 .....	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	91%	100%	92%	100%
Element B: Item 7 .....	89%		91%	67%		100%	100%	100%	100%	92%	96%	100%
Element C: Item 10 .....	44%		94%	100%		86%	100%	100%	73%	94%	96%	100%
Element D: Item 11 .....	44%		94%	67%		42%	100%	100%	39%	58%	69%	
Element E: Items 15 and 16 .....	67%	50%	94%	83%		100%	100%	100%	74%	78%	60%	
Element F: Item 25 .....	33%	100%	83%	100%		86%	100%	100%	65%	56%	54%	100%
Element G: Item 30 .....	55%	100%	74%	100%		86%	100%	100%	56%	94%	85%	100%
Element H: Items 31, 32, 33 .....	66%	100%	63%	100%	100%	71%	75%	100%	87%	86%	81%	100%
Element I: Item 50 .....	55%		91%	50%	100%	57%	100%	100%	70%	83%	73%	100%

the water-stealing episode, and the live-tortoise trap. From Europe the tale travels to Africa directly from Spain and Portugal, and at the same time to Hispanic America and the Philippines. The African slaves then bring to America the Hispanic-African forms of the tale. The American versions, if we include here the versions from all the western continent, are of European, European-African, and African origin. The India-European types prevail, but the Hispanic-African types, Hispanic types that have come under the influence of African versions in Africa, are of not a little importance, and even the purely African forms have in some special cases found their way to America, especially North America. The version of the man who became a spider of Barker-Sinclair is a case in point, for as I have already shown, it has another African form in the Cronise-Ward version and is, therefore, certainly African, and it occurs in practically the same form in Jamaica and in a similar version in Santo Domingo.

The Hispanic-American versions are of European origin. Of the thirty-eight Hispanic-American versions studied (35 from Spanish-America and 3 from Brazil) not a single one has the female tar-baby and courtship episode characteristic of the African and Anglo-African versions. Two more outstanding African characteristics, the water-stealing element (both African and Anglo-African), and the live-tortoise trap, are also totally absent. Only three of the thirty-eight have the mock-plea characteristic of the African and Anglo-African versions, and only one has the special Anglo-African type "Don't throw me into the briar-patch." On the other hand, the outstanding features of the Hispanic-American versions, substitution and the ruse involved, the special punishments of the substitute animal, coyote, fox, or lion being scalded with hot water or burned with a hot poker, the tar-baby that will not play cards, most of which elements are characteristically European, are all conspicuously absent from the African and Anglo-African, except substitution, which evidently through Spanish influence appears in a few versions.

The Portuguese versions from Hispanic America like the three Cape Verde versions are even more specifically India-European in character and have none of the special secondary features of the Spanish-American versions. The African or Anglo-African source of the Hispanic-American versions of the tar-baby story is absolutely out of the question. They are fundamentally of Hispanic origin. If in two or three of the thirty-eight versions one finds significant or insignificant African or Anglo-African elements it proves nothing concerning their origin as a whole. The Santo Domingo version many times cited (13) is certainly of African source. I believe that it is the rare specimen of a tale that has come directly from Africa to Santo Domingo and Jamaica in slightly variant forms. In view of the great mingling of the races in certain parts of Hispanic-America the insignificance of the African and Anglo-African



influence in Hispanic folklore is indeed extraordinary. The theories that Professor Boas and I have held for many years concerning the vigor of European tradition, specifically Hispanic in this case, in Hispanic America is proved beyond all doubt in the study of the tar-baby story.

The American-Indian versions are characteristically Hispanic-American and have none of the special features of the African and Anglo-African versions to any marked degree, with the exception of the water-stealing element. The outstanding feature of the Spanish-American versions, substitution, occurs in five or 22% of the versions. The African and Anglo-African female tar-baby and courtship element is found in only one version. The only significant Anglo-African influence appears, therefore, in the water-stealing episode. The Indians, however, have taken the Spanish-American form of the tar-baby story with the Anglo-African influence above noted and contributed to it one of the most original features of any version or versions from any country, the episode of the coming to life of the dead animal of the Taos versions.

The Lesser Antilles are conspicuously lacking in originality. They have the special Spanish-American features of substitution and the punishment of the substitute animal, and the special African and Anglo-African feature of water-stealing by a rabbit, but curiously enough the well from which the rabbit steals water belongs not to the animals in partnership as in the African and Anglo-African versions, but to the king. This feature appears also in the Mauritius version. In a Bahama version and in three of the four versions from Dutch Guiana the king is the owner of a garden from which the rabbit steals. In the case of the water-stealing episode the Lesser Antilles versions are more African than Africa, 71% as against 31%.

The versions from Dutch Guiana present a very simple and primitive pattern with features from Spanish-America, Africa, Anglo-Africa, and the Lesser Antilles. The Lesser Antilles influence is perhaps the strongest. One original feature appears, the ruse of the son of the spider who saves the father by singing and prophecying the death and ruin of all and everything in case he is killed.

The Philippine versions are specifically of the simple and primitive India-European pattern and are probably of direct Spanish source.

The Cape Verde Islands versions also represent a simple India-European pattern, but confused with the tale of the master-thief, as already noted, in two of the versions, and in a third version there seems to be a slight African or Hispanic-African influence.

The Anglo-African versions are of the ordinary original baustein type and have in common with the African versions from which some of them are derived a full development of the female tar-baby and courtship episode. This may be of Hindu source as I have already indicated, but if it is a characteristic of the African race some of the Anglo-African and African versions depict it admirably. The mock-plea is another im-

portant feature common to both groups, but the pleas are not of the same type. The animal partnership or family group of dramatic characters is also common to both groups. The Anglo-African versions show, therefore, a genetic relation to the African versions, but as a matter of fact there is only one case of definite, direct transmission from Africa, the Jamaica version of the African version of Barker-Sinclair already cited. The influence of the Hispanic forms is clearly seen in the few cases of substitution (5 or 14%), the bucket of tar (2 or 6%) and other less significant details. The Anglo-African versions, therefore, are derived from purely African and Hispanic-African sources on the one hand, and from European sources through Spanish-America on the other hand. The Uncle Remus type, curiously enough, does not show any of the outstanding African or Anglo-African features with the single exception of the mock-plea.

The African versions are of course originally of Hindu source like all the others. As I have already pointed out they have in common with the Anglo-African versions the female tar-baby and courtship episode, the water-stealing episode and animal partnership, and the mock-plea. But the mock pleas are not of the same type. The only feature of the African tales not found in other groups at all is the live-tortoise trap. I have already stated my belief that the female tar-baby and courtship episode is a development of the moral of the India tales of the Samyutta Nikaya and Paricistaparvan about the sensual monkeys. And the special mock-pleas of the Anglo-African and African versions being different, they are most certainly not related. It appears that the only outstanding and unquestionably African and Anglo-African element is the animal partnership and water-stealing and polluting episode. Africa alone develops the live-tortoise tar-trap.

The case for India as the original home of the tar-baby story is founded, therefore, on scientific evidence, on the evidence derived from a careful examination and study of one hundred and fifty-two versions, all those that we could obtain from India, Europe, various parts of Africa and Mauritius, the Philippines, the Cape Verde Islands, the Negroes of the United States and the islands of the Southern States, the Greater and Lesser Antilles and other islands of the Carribean Sea, New Mexico, Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Brazil and Dutch Guiana, the North American Indians, and the Indians of the Orinoco in South America.

## APPENDIX I

THE EUROPEAN AND ORIENTAL ORIGIN OF SOME OF THE DOMINANT  
SECONDARY ELEMENTS OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF VERSIONS OF THE  
TAR-BABY STORY

In my discussion of the important secondary elements that characterize the different group versions of the tar-baby story I have often stated that they are for the most part of European and ultimately of India origin. As I have already stated, some of the dominant characteristic elements of the various versions are specifically local and of recent development and are often indicative of the special characteristic traits or spirit of a race or people. The live-tortoise tar-trap, for example, is certainly an African element, a secondary incident contributed by the Africans to the baustein of the primitive tale. The coming to life of the dead animal in the Taos Indian versions is likewise an Indian contribution and one probably derived from their own traditions. But nevertheless, many of the outstanding features of the tar-baby story as found in various parts of the world and which do not belong to the baustein are developed from traditions existing as early as the baustein of the tar-baby story itself. Many of these are commonly found in the folktales of Europe and India, others have developed in Europe only. The Spanish-American versions, especially, have developed as dominant secondary features some folktale incidents that are characteristically European. In the following pages I list some of the more important characteristic features of the various groups that are not part of the baustein and which are clearly of European and in some cases of Oriental source. The numbers refer to the numbers of the elements in question as listed in the statistical tables of Part IV.

19. Tar-baby is not a tar-baby, but a bucket of tar. This trap for catching a thief is so commonly used in the versions of the tale of the master-thief that I hardly need to call attention to the fact that it is a well known European and Oriental incident. The tar-bucket appears in most of the versions listed by Chauvin for the Oriental group, VIII, 185—186, and it likewise appears in most of the Medieval versions of the Book of the Seven Sages. In the XIIIth century Latin version, *Historia Septem Sapientum* II, 49—54, the poor thief who had been the king's treasurer is caught in a bucket of pitch, bitumen, glue and resin. "Et tu interim cuppam latam et profundam calenti imple bitumine, resa, pice et glutine, quam foramini introrsus opponas." In the *Ystoire Sept Sages* P, 88—89, we are told that a bucket of glue and other sticky substances was placed to catch the master-thief: "de pège et de gluz et aultre miction de cole."

The story of the master-thief being so well known in Oriental and European folklore and the incident of the catching of the thief with



a tar-bucket so closely related to the incidents of the baustein of the tar-baby story it was natural to confuse the two, and that is exactly what has happened. In the two Cape Verde versions already studied the whole tale of the master-thief has been confused with the baustein of the tar-baby story. On the other hand the tar-baby story has taken from the tale of the master-thief the catch with a bucket of tar, the baustein of the tar-baby story itself remaining intact and the thief attacking the bucket of tar in the usual manner as if it were a real tar-baby as I have already pointed out.

21. Tar-baby is a tarred horse. This is a feature of the Lithuanian version only. But it occurs also in another thief-catching story from Europe, and one that may be indirectly related to the tar-baby story. I did not include it in my study because it has none of the elements of the baustein of the tar-baby story, but it is clear that the device of catching a thief or mischief-maker by means of a tarred horse is well known in European folklore. As a matter of fact it is not altogether impossible that the African live-tortoise tar-trap may be related to the European live-horse tar-trap. The tarred horse used to catch the thief in a European folktale occurs in an Asturian tradition mentioned by R. Menéndez Pidal in *Romania* XIX, 376—377. In discussing the origin of the word *xana*, Asturian for water-nymph, he tells the incident of one of these water-nymphs being caught by a tarred horse. I have recently asked my distinguished friend for more details about the incident and he writes me as follows: "Es una anécdota cuyo desenlace, si es que lo tenía, no lo recuerdo. Sólo conservo en la memoria que unos mozos vieron una noche varias xanas junto a una fuente cabalgando los caballos que allí pastaban, y como no pudieron acercarse a ellas, para la noche siguiente cubrieron de pez el lomo de un caballo, y así, cuando la xana se montó en él, quedó presa en la pez y pudieron apoderarse de ella."

This fragmentary account tells us the story of a water-nymph that was in the habit of riding at night on the horses of a certain farm. To catch her the owners put tar on a horse and the nymph rode the horse and could not get off afterwards. In view of the fact that the nymph was not a thief but rather one that rode the horses at night it is doubtful whether the play of hands and feet was part of the original tale. It is merely a related tale that has the element of the tarred horse with none of the baustein of the tar-baby story. The tarred horse used to catch a thief or mischief-maker, as part of the tar-baby story or independently of it, seems to be a well known European tradition.

38. Substitution. This is the outstanding characteristic of the Spanish-American versions, 60%. From Spanish-America it has gone to other regions: Lesser Antilles 42%, American-Indians 22%, Anglo-Africa 14%. Africa alone has received it directly from India (Africa 8%, India 11%).

Substitution in European and Spanish-American folklore is of very

common occurrence, and it often occurs in circumstances very similar to those of the tar-baby story. In the Spanish-American folktales it is especially common in the tales of Juan Bobo, Pedro de Urdemales, and other picaresque tales. Juan Bobo or Pedro de Urdemalas is a trickster or general mischief-maker, sometimes specifically a thief, and when he is finally caught he is usually put into a sack to be taken to the river to be drowned. At that point there appears another person who takes his place when the mischief-maker tells him that they are to marry him to the king's daughter. All these details are practically identical to those of the substitution of the coyote or some other animal for the rabbit that is caught in the typical Spanish-American tar-baby versions. The parallelism is extraordinary and there can be no doubt about the relation of the incidents. From the European and Spanish tales where substitution occurred the motif has been transferred to the tar-baby story, a development that also occurred in India if we may judge from the Gordon version (7), and which has undergone a special elaboration in Spanish-America.<sup>1</sup>

The confusion of the picaresque tales of Juan Bobo and the tar-baby story in Spanish-America has apparently been such that in one of the Porto-Rican tar-baby versions (21) it is Juan Bobo himself who is caught by means of a tar-baby.

Substitution in the folklore of Europe and Spanish-America has to be considered with elements 43, "They wish to marry me to the king's daughter," and 44, "They give me plenty of food," because these are usually the deceiving words that induce the person or animal that happens to pass by to substitute for the one first caught. The whole incident of the substitution and the deceiving tricks used for the substitution to take place are the same in the numerous versions of European and Spanish-American folktales and in the Spanish-American tar-baby versions. I will give only a few typical examples. In the European and

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<sup>1</sup> The whole idea of substitution and the punishment of the substitute, both elements together, probably came to Europe as a folklore theme already developed in India in various types of folktales. A very good example of the general type is found in *Panchatantra* I, iv. A man who wishes to punish his adulterous wife ties her to a post so she may not go to her lover. He goes away for a while to consider what punishment is best. In the meantime a woman friend, a barber's wife, arrives and hears of the wife's plight. She offers to substitute for a while so that the adulterous wife may again go out to meet her lover. Substitution takes place just as in the Spanish-American tar-baby versions. The angry husband returns and finds the other woman whom he thinks to be his wife. He speaks to her and asks her to promise not to go with other men again before releasing her. The barber's wife becomes frightened and does not reply for fear he will detect the deceit. But angered all the more the husband takes a knife and cuts off her nose. Later when the husband finds his wife unharmed she makes him believe the gods restored her nose on account of her innocence.

Spanish-American picaresque tales the dramatic characters are all human as a rule.

Among the oldest examples is the one from Grimm-Schmeller, *La-teinische Gedichte des X und XI Jahrh.* 376—377. The Unibos plays many tricks on people until he is shut up in a barrel by three men. He begins to call out, "They are forcing honors and power upon me," and a swineherd hears him and substitutes.

In Straparola I, 2, a prevost hires a robber to bring him a priest in a sack. The robber goes to mass and dressed in ecclesiastical robes he stands by the sack and says, "Who wants to go to paradise?" The priest gets into the sack and is taken by the robber to the prevost. There is no actual substitution here because no one gets out of the sack, but the trick is similar to the ones used in the substitution incident.

In Mullenhoff 463, the hero of the story is imprisoned in a barrel. He cries out, "They are going to marry me to the king's daughter." A herdsman substitutes.

In Parsons, Cape Verde 18, the trickster hero is put into a sack and is about to be killed. He cries out, "I don't want to marry the king's daughter because I can not eat with knife and fork." A herdsman substitutes and is cast into the sea.

In a version from Brittany in RTP IX, 346, the devil is imprisoned in a sack by Pierre. The devil cries out, "I refuse to marry the king's daughter," and a rag-dealer substitutes and is cast into the sea.

In Bladé III, 104—119, the picaresque hero is also caught and put into a sack to be drowned. He calls out, "They want to marry me to the king's daughter," and one who is passing by substitutes and is drowned.

In a Celtic folktale, Jacobs 4, 59—61, a trickster is caught and put into a sack. He calls out, "I don't want to marry the king's daughter." A farmer who happens to pass by substitutes and is thrown into a lake and drowned.

As a last example from Europe I will cite the one from my "Cuentos", 174, Juanito Malastrampas. Juanito is caught and put in a sack to be drowned. While the sack is left near a tavern for a moment Juanito begins to complain, "Alas! Alas! They want me to marry the king's daughter, and I refuse to do it." A shepherd substitutes and is drowned.

The examples where the deceiving words are slightly different but the episode practically the same are even more numerous. To this category belong Archivio I, 203, where the hero is captured and put into a sack, and after crying out, "They want to make me pope," he induces a shepherd to substitute.

I will now give a few examples from Spanish-America.

In a Porto-Rican folktale, Mason-Espinosa, PRF II, 2c, the hero is finally caught and imprisoned in a sack. He calls out, "I don't want to marry the king's daughter," and a man passing by substitutes and is killed.



In Espinosa VII, 14, Pedro de Urdemalas is caught and imprisoned in a sack. He calls out, "I don't want to marry the king's daughter because she is blind of one eye." A man who is passing by substitutes and is drowned.

In another New Mexican Spanish folktale, the tale of Los dos compadres, BDR IV, III, the poor compadre is caught and put into a sack to be drowned. He calls out also, "I do not want to marry the king's daughter because she is blind of one eye," and one who is passing by substitutes.

Incident 44, "They give me plenty of food," is also found in connection with substitution in European and Spanish-American folktales outside of the tar-baby story. The Aesopic fable of the fox and the wolf, Collectas IX, in which the fox escapes from a well and the wolf goes down at the same time to seek cheese (the moon) is really a prototype version of this incident. In a form identical with that of the Spanish-American tar-baby versions it is found in a Cape Verde version, Parsons, Cape Verde 21.

45. The substitute animal is scalded with hot water. This incident, characteristic of the Spanish-American versions, is most certainly of European origin. The best and oldest example I have is the one from the Roman de Renard (ed. Martin, III, 335—343). The wolf wants to become a monk and sticks his head through a hole to be tonsured. The fox pours boiling water on his neck.

In a Lettish folktale, Boehm-Specht 147—148, a man concealed under a trough hears the wolf and hare plotting to rob him. He goes home and prepares hot water, which he pours on the wolf who is the first to appear to steal sheep.

46. The substitute animal is stuck with a hot poker, sometimes specifically in the anus.

This incident is also of Oriental and European source. I have already called attention to its presence in a modern India version (4), where the jackal has swallowed carp and they go through his buttocks, and after being patched up by a shoemaker has to have a blacksmith make a hole for the anal orifice with a hot poker. The incident occurs also in the India version (5) which is a variant of (4).

In a Portuguese version, Coelho VII, the wolf, the fox and the rabbit help a man to prepare a feast after various other incidents. The man then kills the rabbit, drags the fox through the fire and sticks a hot poker through the anus of the wolf. The jackal of the India tales is the wolf of the European tales, and the wolf of the European tales is the poor, stupid coyote of our Spanish-American folktales.

Coelho IX is slightly different, but it interests us even more because like some of the Spanish-American tar-baby versions it has both the hot water and the hot poker incidents. A man and his wife prepare a feast and send the wolf and fox to get provisions. When the feast is

ready the animals see a caldron of hot water and a red hot poker and ask what they are for. The woman says that they are to cook the chicken. The man then pours the hot water on the wolf, and the woman sticks the hot poker into the eyes of the fox.

## ADDENDA

### I

When my article was already in press I received volume 88 of the *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians* by J. R. Swanton, Washington, 1929. On pages 68, 110—111, 161, 208—209, 258—259, there are six new Indian versions not included in my study. That brings the total of American Indian versions to twenty-nine, and the total of tar-baby versions to one hundred and fiftyeight. These six new Indian versions do not change the conclusions of my study in any way although the percentages of occurrence for the Indian versions are slightly modified. Element 38, substitution, for example, the outstanding trait of the Spanish-American versions, is changed from 5 out of 23 or 22% to 7 out of 29 or 24% in the Indian versions. The changes in the other details are insignificant. These versions are of the general American Indian type already established with no special or new features. All have the stick-fast episode at four or five points, rabbit is the thief in all, the dramatic monologue occurs in three of the six, the special Anglo-African mock-plea, element 48, occurs in only one version, a Natchez Indian version, and there is no female tar-baby in any of the versions. In four versions rabbit steals ordinary garden produce and in two water, from a well.

### II

When my article was in press there appeared a brief and interesting article, "The 'Tar-Baby Story'", in *American Literature* II, 72—88, by Professor Ruth I. Cline of Bridgewater College. Although on page 74 she states that she has examined only 50 to 60 versions there is cited a third century India literary version translated from Sanskrit into Chinese which I have not seen. It is very similar to Jataka 55. Professor Cline seems to believe in the India origin of the tar-baby story, and her article is on the whole an attempt to prove a relationship between Jataka 55 and Jataka 20, starting from the belief that the tar-baby was originally a water-sprite as in Jataka 20, where Buddha, born as a king of the monkeys suspects the presence of a water-ogre in a certain lake, does not go down to drink and is not caught by the ogre. The suggestion that there may be an actual connection between the two Jatakas because the ogres are physically similar and because Buddha teaches the same lesson to both ogres seems to me the weakest part of the argument because all ogres as described in folktales are physically similar and Buddha teaches practically the same lessons and even in words that are very much the same in several of the Jatakas.

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FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
AMERICAN FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

The forty-first annual meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society was held on December 28, 1929 at 2 P.M. at the Alumnae House, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. with President Sapir in the chair.

The reports of the preceding year were read as follows:

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The membership of the Society is as follows:

	1928	1929
Honorary members .....	5	3
Life members .....	10	9
Active members:		
Subscribing .....	341	351
Memoir .....	—	26
	<hr/> 356	<hr/> 363
Subscribing libraries	160	160

Last year we created a new kind of membership, the Memoir membership which entitles the member to the Journals for the year as well as to the Memoir which is designated. So far we have 26 members of this kind, which do not count in the total as they are the same as subscribing members as far as the Journal is concerned. There is every reason to expect that we shall gradually increase the number of this type of membership, and it gives one channel for the distribution of the Memoirs.

The Treasurer will report a tremendous increase in sales for this year, an increase due, as far as we know, to the following causes:

1. The drive which we had for circularizing libraries and institutions which were not up-to-date with their Memoirs. I think we may count on at least 65 Memoir subscribers from the 160 on the list which now subscribe to the Journal. This conclusion I reach from a study of the statement from Stechert which anyone who is interested is invited to inspect.

2. The full page advertisement which Stechert had on the back of his catalogue.

3. The notice of the work of the Folk-Lore Society on the front page of the catalogue of C. Howes, St. Leonards-on-Sea, England. Howes

volunteered to print this notice in return for a mailing list which we sent him.

Although the Modern Language Association this year withdrew the privilege of club membership which we had had at their suggestion for several years, we kept a great many of the subscribers we had obtained through them. In fact the number which fell off was no greater than the average number of resignations from our total list. Furthermore a great many paid back dues for as far back as four years when we sent bills direct. These bills had been previously sent by the Modern Language Association and we had had no direct communication with these particular members.

Another small source of income is the mailing list. We usually have a few extra ones printed. We are constantly having requests from publishers who want to notify members of folklore publications. I see no reason why the lists should not be sent but I charge three dollars for them.

Respectfully submitted,  
GLADYS A. REICHARD,  
Secretary.

The Secretary's report was accepted.

#### TREASURER'S REPORT.

##### General Fund

##### Income

From General Members, dues for 1929	\$ 449.59
From General Members, dues for 1928	52.00
From General Members, dues for 1927	8.00
From General Members, dues for 1926	4.00
From Branch Societies .....	459.75
From Joint Dues MLS members ..	114.00
Income and Royalties from publisher	1287.38
Deposited with no record .....	3.00
Sale of one Memoir .....	3.50
Received for supplying Mailing List .	3.00
Gift from Dr. E. C. Parsons to meet cost of Journal No. 162 .....	559.42
Loan from State Bank and Trust Co..	700.00
Interest on bank balance .....	2.91
Income from permanent fund .....	115.50
	<hr/>
	\$ 3202.63
Balance from 1928	1157.93
	<hr/>
	\$ 4919.98



## Expenditures.

## Publication and mailing of Journal

Journal No. 160 .....	\$ 567.43
Journal No. 161 .....	496.45
Journal No. 162 .....	559.42
Journal No. 163 .....	<u>305.92</u>

\$ 1929.22

Mailing Journals issued during 1928 36.67

Editor's Assistant..... 350.00

Postage, Editor..... 10.00

Editorial Assistance, Index of JAFL 170.00

Secretary's Expenses, Membership  
Drive, 1929 ..... 105.47Refund to Modern Language Asso-  
ciation ..... .90

Collection charges for foreign checks .40

Interest on notes, 1928 and 1929 .. 60.18

State Bank and Trust Co., repayment  
of U. S. Mortgage Note ..... 800.00Memoir XXI, Binding ..... 158.50

\$ 3621.34

Balance for 1929 \$ 1298.64

## Publication Fund

## Income.

## Concordance of Southwest

## Folklore Donations, Dr.

E. C. Parsons, ..... \$ 554.00

Memoir Memberships ..... 62.50

\$ 616.50

## Expenditures.

## Salary and assistance for

## Concordance of South-

west Folklore ..... 550.00550.00

Balance for 1929 ..... \$ 66.50

Balance in bank ..... \$ 1365.14

## Cuban Folk-Lore Collection Fund.

## Income.

Gift ..... \$ 250.00

250.00

Expenditures.

For work on Cuban Folk-

Lore Collection . . . . .	250.00	250.00
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Permanent Fund.

2—5 ½% Mortgage Bond Co. of New York for

\$ 1000 . . . . .	\$ 2000.00
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1 Do. for \$ 100 . . . . .	100.00
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\$ 2100.00

Less loan on Bond No. 588, held as collateral by

State Bank and Trust Co. . . . .	700.00
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\$ 1400.00

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, Treasurer.

The Treasurer's report was accepted.

EDITOR'S REPORT.

Four issues of the Journal have been distributed during the past year, bringing the current issue to that of April-June 1929. The last two issues of this year were delayed only on account of the state of our treasury. Owing to the expense of issuing back numbers during the last two years, it was necessary to wait until we had received our accounting for the present year from our distributors, G. E. Stechert. It is a matter of congratulation that this statement, owing to increased sales both of Journals and of Memoirs, is so considerably larger than before, and will make it possible for us during the coming year to achieve our goal of issuing current numbers on the date called for.

This program would still be impossible however without the continuing help of Dr. Parsons, who has paid for the Negro number again during the past year, and who has financed not only the collecting of the material but also the publication of two forthcoming Memoirs. Her own collection, Kiowa Tales, is ready for distribution, and Dr. Manuel Andrade's from Santo Domingo has been sent to the printer. We have also distributed this year Memoir XXI, Jamaica Folklore, the printed material for which we received through the kindness of Dr. Beckwith of the Folklore Foundation of Vassar College.

The Index to the first forty volumes of the Journal, which has been so long in preparation, is being printed for us through the kindness of Mr. Haffner of G. E. Stechert and Co., and will be ready for distribution the first of the year. A great deal of editorial work has for a long time gone into the preparation of this Index, as also into the preparation of the back issues of the Journal, and the cost of editorial assi-

stance, now that these two emergencies are out of the way, will of course decrease. We are already this year able to report a saving of \$ 150 over last year in the expense of the editor's assistant, and it is hoped that with continued saving in this matter, and the indicated increased sales of back Memoirs and Journals, we may in time hope to be self-supporting. The editor recommends that now that we are up to date in publication, we undertake a drive for new subscribers at the beginning of the new year.

RUTH BENEDICT.

The Editor's report was accepted.

After the reading and acceptance of the reports of the various officers the following matters were discussed and acted upon:

At the Secretary's suggestion libraries were permitted a "Memoir subscription" which shall include the benefits of the club rate for one Memoir a year with the subscription for the Journal for \$ 6.50. This provision is made since by the charter of the Society libraries may not become members.

The Secretary and Editor were empowered to expend a reasonable sum (between fifty and one hundred dollars) at their discretion for an extended drive for new members.

The Editor pointed out the fact that only such Memoirs can be published for which their authors can pay. There was a discussion of the problem of a permanent basis for the publication of Memoirs. It was moved, seconded and passed that Professor Boas be authorized to study the best means of approaching some foundation with a view to getting a permanent fund for the publication of Memoirs.

A motion of thanks was again addressed to Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons for her kind cooperation and help. The Council recognizes that without her help the Society would not be in the excellent position in which it is today.

The Treasurer recommended that the loan of \$ 700 be liquidated. After discussion it was decided that such liquidation be left to the discretion of the Treasurer, Secretary and Editor.

The following officers were elected for 1930:

PRESIDENT, Edward Sapir, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

VICE-PRESIDENT, Stith Thompson, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

SECRETARY, Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, New York City.

TREASURER, Melville J. Herskovits, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

EDITOR, Ruth Benedict, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York City.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS, Franz Boas, G. L. Kittredge, C. Marius Barbeau, Aurelio Espinosa, Elsie C. Parsons, Gladys A. Reichard.



COUNCILLORS: for 3 years, J. F. Dobie, F. G. Speck, A. I. Hallowell, Archer Taylor, Martha W. Beckwith, Clark Wissler.

COUNCILLORS: for 2 years, A. L. Kroeber, Diamond Jenness, Leslie White, Louise Pound, Ruth L. Bunzel.

COUNCILLORS: for 1 year, A. M. Tozzer, J. R. Swanton, John F. Spargo, Robert Redfield, Mellinger Henry.

The following papers were read:

Edward Sapir, The criteria of literature among primitive peoples.

M. J. Herskovits, Oral values in primitive literature.

R. H. Lowie, Literature and Ethnography.

Stith Thompson, The Historic-Geographic method as applied to American Indian tales.

M. W. Beckwith, Narrative forms of the Oglala-Sioux.

R. F. Benedict, Figures of speech in Pima poetry.

RUTH L. BUNZEL, Secretary pro tem.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

— CUATRO CUENTOS COLOMBIANOS. These four stories of the Rabbit cycle were collected by the writer from a native of the state of Magdalena on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, South America, in 1923. I was then engaged in an archeological expedition for Field Museum of Natural History of Chicago, and the stories are here printed with the kind permission of the Director of that institution, Mr. S. C. Simms. The first story is an interesting version of the Tar-baby story and has been studied in manuscript by Dr. Aurelio M. Espinosa for his as yet (February, 1930) unpublished study of this almost universal tale.

I am much indebted to Dr. Espinosa and to Dr. Manuel Andrade for editing the stories.

## I

Un señor tenía una rosa y le regaló una *patilla*<sup>1</sup> al rey. Aquella patilla era muy grande y llegó el conejo y se la comió. Y ahí llegó y se metió adentro de la patilla y se la comió. Y la patilla se la regalara al rey. Cuando le llevaron la patilla al rey lo que tenía adentro era mierda del conejo. Cuando la abrieron creyeron que era cosa del hombre y iba a coger al hombre para fusilarlo. Dijo él que no, que eso era cosa del conejo. Le dijeron entonces que cogiera al conejo.

Ahí llegó el hombre y hizo un negro de zera y lo puso en la rosa con un juego de baraja. Conejo era muy jugador y cuando vió la luz se fué encima a jugar él también. Se puso a jugar con el negro de cera. Él decía al negro que le echara carta y el negro callado. Ahí llegó y le dió un puño y se quedó pegado al negro. Le dió con la otra mano y también se quedó pegado. Le dijo que le soltara porque era pateador. Y le dió una patada y también se quedó pegado de la pata. Le dió con la otra pata y también se quedó pegado. Le dijo que le daba con la cabeza. También se quedó pegado de la cabeza.

Allí lo cogieron y llegaron y lo amarraron. Lo amarraron de un palo grande y pusieron a calentar un fondo de agua. Y él se puso a llorar. En eso se apareció Tío Tigre y le dijo que por qué lloraba. Y le dijo que lloraba porque se le iba a casar con la hija del rey. Entonces le dijo el tigre que lo amarrase a él. Y ahí llegó entonces y el tigre se amarró y soltó al conejo. Cuando llegó la gente con el agua caliente encontraron al tigre y al conejo suelto. Y ahí llegaron y le echaron el fondo de agua al tigre y le dejaron allí amarrado.

En eso iba un mico pasando y le dijo el tigre que le soltara. Él le dijo que después se lo comía. El tigre le dijo que no. El mico llegó y siempre lo sacó de las dos manos. Y ahí llegó y lo cogió para comérselo. Entonces dijo el mico que no lo comía así, que lo tirara arriba para que le sintiera más sabroso. El tigre lo tiró para arriba para pararlo en la boca y comérselo, y el mico se agarró de un ramo. Y entonces no comió el tigre nada. Y entonces salió atrás del mico para podérselo comer. Y el mico se le escondió.

<sup>1</sup> Watermelon.

## 2

Conejo hizo una apuesta con Tía Tigra que iba a montar a Tío Tigre. Y la tigre le decía que no, que no lo montaba. Y él decía que sí lo montaba. Llegó el conejo y cogió una silla y un par de espuelas y un freno y se fué para el monte. Cuando llegó al monte se envolvió la pata y comenzó a llorar y llamando a Tío Tigre, que a dónde estaría su tío, que el macho le había tumbado y que se había quebrado su patica, y que si Tío Tigre estuviera por allí, seguro que él lo montaba. Entonces llegó Tío Tigre y le decía: — ¡Hombre, Conejo! Tú, ¿qué haces allí? Decía el conejo: — ¡Ay, Tío Tigre Viejo! Lo que tengo es la patica quebrada. Ese macho me ha quebrado la patica. Lléveme montado. Y le decía Tío Tigre: — ¡Hombre, Conejo! Y respondía el conejo: — ¡Hombre, Tío Tigre, tanto que me quieres tú a mí! — Entonces, monta, pues. — Ahí la silla la voy a dejar. — ¡Hombre, Conejo! Entonces póngamela, pues. Cuando lo fué a cinchar, decía: — ¡No me ates recio! — ¡Ay, hombre, Tío Tigre! — Entonces, monta, pues. — ¡Ay, Tío Tigre! Me falta una cosa. — ¿Qué, Conejo? — El freno. — Cójalo, pues. — Para ponérselo en la boca. — ¡Hombre, Conejo! Y llegó y se lo puso. Y ahí llegó y lo montó, y salió Tío Tigre caminando. Y le decía: — Tío Tigre, échame un cantico. Tú no tienes la pata quebrada. ¡Échalo, pues! Cuando iba llegando a donde Tía Tigra le dijo que estaba viendo que iba montado en Tío Tigre. Y ahí llegó y le dejó caer. Quedó Tío Tigre entonces con la silla puesta. Entonces Tía Tigra se la quitó.

Y salió él a buscar al conejo y lo encontró comiendo corocitos. Y le preguntó que qué comía y le dijo que los huevitos de él. Y le dijo que lo probara y ahí llegó y lo probó. Y dijo el tigre que eran sabrosos. Y le dijo entonces el conejo que más sabrosos eran los de él, porque eran más grandes. Y entonces dijo Tío Tigre que cómo hacia él para quebrarse una. Y dijo que le pusiera una piedra abajo y otra arriba y se diera. Y ahí llegó Tigre y se dió con la piedra. Y echo a gritar, y Conejo salió corriendo.

## 3

Conejo era muy chiquito, y se fué donde Dios a preguntarle que por qué le tenía tan chiquito. Y le dijo que después siendo más grande, no había quien pudiera cod él. Y él dijo que el tigre era grande y cómo podía con él. Entonces le dijo que le cogiera la hormiga y la avispa y la culebra y el colmillo del elefante y la pluma del gallinazo para ponerlo grande. Entonces cogió un calabazo y abrió una boca y salió para donde la hormiga, porfiando él solo. Decía que no cabía, y él mismo decía que cabía. Hasta que llegó donde la hormiga y le preguntó la hormiga qué era eso. Y él le dijo que era una porfía que traía con un señor, que le venía diciendo que no cabía en el calabazo. Entonces llegó y se metió, y ahí llegó y le puso una tapa y le metió en su mochila. Entonces salió donde la avispa y también con la misma porfía que no cabía en el calabazo. Y ahí llegó la avispa y se metió con toda su familia. Salió donde la culebra también con la misma porfía; ahí llegó la culebra y se metió en el calabazo. También le puso la tapa y la metió en su mochila. Le faltaba la pluma del gallinazo. Y ahí llegó y se hizo el muerto y ahí llegó el gallinazo y llegó a comérselo. La garrapina le decía que estaba vivo, y el gallinazo decía que no, que estaba muerto. El gallinazo empezó a



picarle el culo y ahí llegó y le apretó el culo y le cogió. Entonces le faltaba el colmillo del elefante. Al elefante le gustaba mucho la miel. Y el conejo vió una abeja y le dijo al elefante que ahí estaba una abeja para ir a sacarle. Entonces se fué el elefante y le metió el colmillo al palo. Cuando le tenía el colmillo metido, le dijo el conejo que ahí venía la guardia. El tenía mucho miedo a la guardia y arrancó a correr. En la carrera le quedó un colmillo pegado al palo y llegó el conejo y lo sacó.

Entonces fué donde el Señor que le pusiera grande. Entonces lo cogió por las orejas y ahí llegó y se las haló. Y entonces le mandó que se parara en el sol y se viera la sombra que estaba grande. Y él se veía del tamaño de las orejas en la sombra y creía que era verdad que estaba grande.

## 4

Conejo se enamoró de Tía Zorra y ella le parió cuatro hijos. Ella se fué a lavar y cuando vino del lavandero no encontró comida y se puso a pelear con Tío Conejo. Al otro día se volvió a lavar y Tío Conejo mató a un hijo y se lo hizo zancocho y cuando ella vino le puso el almuerzo. Y después de comer le dijo que sacara a los hijos, y les sacó a los hijos, los tres en cuatro veces. Después volvió a lavar y volvió el conejo y mató a otro hijo. Se lo volvió a cocinar y ella se lo comió. Y le preguntó por los hijos y le dijo que estaban durmiendo, que estaban hartos. Al otro día se volvió ella a lavar y volvió a matar a otro hijo. Cuando volvió, preguntó por los hijos y le dijo que estaban durmiendo. Y le dijo que los sacara para darles de mamar. Entonces llegó y cogió los cueros de los hijitos y se los tiró en la cara. Y arrancó a correr y ella corrió atrás. Él se metió en un hoyo y ella cortó un garabato y lo metió adentro del hoyo y agarraba la pierna. Cuando agarraba la pierna le decía que era una raíz, y cuando agarraba una raíz se ponía a gritar que le quebrara la patica. Entonces Tía Zorra corrió a buscar un hazadón y dejó a Tía Garza cuidando. Y le dijo que abriera los ojos y le decía: — Abiertos los tengo yo. Y llegó y le echó y le echó un puño de tierra en los ojos y llegó y se salió. Entonces llegó Tía Zorra y lo vió a donde iba corriendo. Y él se metió en otro hoyo; se metió por un lado y salió por otro. Y la zorra quiso meterse también y quedó atorada. Entonces él se volvió por atrás y le dijo que lo que decía con su boquita lo cumplía con su pinguita.

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## BOOK REVIEWS.

PHONOPHOTOGRAPHY IN FOLK MUSIC, American Negro Songs in New Notation, by Milton Metfessel, Ph. D., with an introduction by Carl E. Seashore. The University of North Carolina Social Study Series, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1928.

Every one who has had experience in recording and analyzing Primitive Music will readily grant the suggestions set forth in this book and in previous papers of Dr. Seashore's abstracted in his Introduction, will be of great value toward refining present methods in the study of primitive music. The writers advocate the introduction into this study and the exclusive use of a discipline analogous to that of experimental phonetics in the study of language. The technique used heretofore — recording songs on the phonograph and transcribing this acoustic reproduction into musical notation by means of the ear — should be replaced by taking phonophotographic records. In such records, the sound-vibrations are transformed into vibration of the light which are filmed. The resulting graphs are subjected to analysis, dispensing with the acoustic experience of the investigator.

In the past it has been clear to students of primitive and folk music that much of the detail of musical rendition can not be easily detected by the ear or transcribed with sufficient accuracy into our musical notation.<sup>1</sup> Dr. von Hornbostel who has given especial attention to this question, uses our musical notation extended by additional signs fitted to such features, and often emphasizes the stylistic and historic importance of seemingly unessential and elusive details in melody, rhythm and the technique of delivery in primitive music. Phonophotography will give us on these details, no doubt, a check long desired, especially on the technique of delivery.

The importance of the phonophotographic technique granted, it is its limitations rather than its usefulness which seem to invite comment, limitations which may prove to be more burdensome than the author and Dr. Seashore, the originator of the technique, enthusiastically anticipate.

It is one of the most tangible advantages of the method — states Dr. Seashore in the Introduction — that it will be feasible now to record and measure *emotion* as expressed in music; a quality distinct from others which we deal with more easily in music (pp. 6—7). This view seems somewhat over-optimistic. A musical record is the reproduction or, in the case of phonophotography, a transfer into another medium, of musical *expression*. If "emotion" — a concept rather vague in present-day Psychology — needs to be introduced here, one may add: musical expression is constantly charged emotionally. Hence, in principle, the possibility of transferring the fluctuations of expressive quality experienced by the listener to fluctuations of this primary emotional charge taking place in the singer. But why this ever-present emotional quality should lend itself to be "peeled off" so to speak, and even measured quantitatively just because it will subside now in a

<sup>1</sup> See the quotations on pp. 20—21 of the book.

visual image instead of an acoustic one, is not quite obvious. Our slight knowledge of psycho-physiological processes will certainly not increase through the photographing of sound-waves. In highly controlled forms of cultural behaviour like music, a simple relation of expression and emotion can not be very well expected. It could be, if music would represent a system of symbols charged with meanings universally valid, in any period and cultural setting. That it is not so, needs, hardly to be demonstrated. Let us consider just one example, the simultaneous thirds. They were felt as discords in the beginnings of European part-singing. For the past two hundred years they served as the basis for harmony. Today they evoke less and less response. Fourths and fifths had a predominating role in early medieval music, later they were avoided. Even today, a fourth in a musical context is felt to be less harmonious than a third, musical judgment running counter "objective", statistically tested physiological experience. The same variation in meaning appears if different musical styles are compared. In our music for instance, an accent may represent an expressive peak. In the music of many Indian tribes every tone of a melody is accented; the function of the accent and the psychological response to it must be necessarily different in this case. Considering the great diversity of expressive forms and meanings implied through them, every musical style must be dealt with, as far as possible, in terms of its own. An abstract system of representation superimposed on all musical styles will always have drawbacks, whether it is based upon our musical notation or evolved upon principles of physics and geometry. The system of representation as advocated will show, no doubt, more detail than was apparent before. But the task of conceiving and evaluating the results will remain the same, only the apparatus of approach will become much more bulky.

In analyzing music, the investigator relies to a great extent upon conceiving relations and patterns *intuitively*, in the acoustic medium familiar through long experience. This intuitive process may, and to a certain extent must, be controlled by physical measurements, but it can never be wholly supplanted by them. Of what advantage is, then, an objective system of representation? According to Dr. Seashore, in the phonophotographic representation the whole of musical phenomena will be brought to view, fuller and more objectively than through the earlier methods which are based upon acoustic experience and hampered by the imperfections and the cultural prejudices of the human ear. The entirety of musical reality is to be caught and fixed, so to speak; nothing will be omitted. This richness is achieved at the cost of transferring musical experience from the acoustic realm into the visual one. But will acoustic experience be represented and fully covered when transformed into visual experience? Such transfers are of necessity distorting. Every system of representation has inevitable "slants" and a "jargon" of its own fitted to these slants. The more radical the transfer, the more picturesque (and the less adequate) the representation, the more distorting the influence of the slants. The musical phenomenon will tend to be broken up into a heap of punctiliously stated but disparate facts. The subsumption of these facts into relations and patterns will be especially difficult if the investigator dispenses with acoustic experience; the visual realm will suggest to him structures based upon visual experience, upon visual symmetry, length and distance.



It should not be forgotten that music is largely expression intended for communication and depending upon the standards and expectations of the specific culture in which it is voiced. These standards and the "feel" for the style the investigator attempts to assimilate by prolonged acoustic experience with the style. The success of his investigations will largely depend upon his success in this process, for which graphs offer little help. On the other hand, the richness of detail offered by the graphs can easily become an impediment. Much of this detail will be strange to the investigator; data which he will not be able to interpret in terms of any musical experience. The graphs will not tell which of the features come to the attention of the listener and which ones recede, nor what details are intended and experienced to be important against others of less significance. Records containing a phonographic representation as well as a photographic one, would preserve an image of the *musical* expression and would offer the investigator and the reader an opportunity to become a listener and to refer the graphs to acoustic experience. Also, the sound when preserved, will be accessible to other experimental methods in the future, to which graphs could not be subjected.

As the subjective element of the investigator's conception seems to recede, the more abstract becomes the system of representation. But as soon as representation must be reinterpreted, the same element appears with added force. Suffice it to throw a glance at the "Terminology of Factors in a Musical Photogram" of Dr. Seashore's (pp. 9—10). One may ask why the Glissando is placed in the realm of "Pitch," under the heading "Attack and Release," whereas the related Legato and Staccato are found under "Duration," heading "Variability, Artistic Variation?" Also, why the Glissando occurs once under "Attack and Release," and again under "Variability" (here as "Gliding Intonation")? Or, why Part-singing is represented in the table only with "Harmony" ("Consonance" and "Dissonance"), a factor which is even in our music only a partial factor if it comes to Polyphony?

Other than strictly musical considerations must be brought forward too. It ought to be suggested that a study of Primitive Music (and Folk Music just as well,) can be hardly complete without giving the linguistic side, if possible, even equal attention. This aspect is of especial importance if a song is recorded in such minute detail. Some peculiarities of musical style are primarily dependent upon phonetic features of the song-text and can not be interpreted correctly unless the song-text is phonetically analyzed and controlled otherwise. For this end, the recording of songs by phonophotography ought to be paralleled with an experimental-phonetic record of the song-texts as spoken and sung so that musical, poetic and phonetic-linguistic factors can be kept apart.

A most intimate knowledge of the cultural setting of the musical style under investigation is also indispensable. This knowledge offers an insight into the musical standards of the group, but also into non-musical, cultural factors which may determine the trend of musical development and production. Such factors sometimes shape strictly musical traits to a considerable degree. A comparison of musical patterns and principles with those of other cultural phases of the same culture may clarify musical phenomena which can not always be understood on the basis of technical musical facts only.

Finally, as a merely technical limitation of the method, it must be mentioned that in the present form of the apparatus, pitch and duration are

recorded only, but not stress (intensity). The investigators are themselves aware of the fact that in this form the technique is not apt as yet to furnish final records for preservation.

Turning to the book itself, a few suggestions may be offered as to the notation used. Dr. Metfessel introduces a combined notation. The graphs are reproduced in a smoothed over form and on the graphs are placed musical notes, summarizing so to speak, the graphs. This combined notation is placed into a linear system, based upon the twelvetone tempered tone-system. It may be of greater advantage if the tonality is represented with primary reference to the tonal pattern embedded in the song itself. That is, the pitch of the actual tones (or, the average value of their variations) could be represented by horizontal lines and the tempered tone-system by an additional system of faint lines, being introduced for comparative purposes only. This may not be very essential with songs in our own western musical culture, especially with more or less trained singers, but it would be of great value when dealing with primitive songs. The musical notation itself could be made more extensive, rests could be indicated, also additional signs for such deviations in pitch and time which are generally unexpected by the average reader of music. The inclusion of the musical notation being, no doubt, a necessary compromise, it could be made more suggestive for the great majority of readers who will chiefly rely upon the musical notation or will fail to superimpose the data of the graphs upon the latter. Making the musical notation more explicit would also make way for a full representation of the graphs; the technical reader would prefer to see these in the original form much rather than "smoothed over," as they appear in the present book.

Dr. Metfessel has photographed and analyzed, in order to demonstrate and introduce the method as such, a number of Negro folksongs from America, partly from commercial gramophone records. Renditions of songs by artistically trained white singers have been included in the analysis, for the sake of comparison. The investigation does not purport to give a final clue to the question which is of interest to the author, — to what extent did American Negro Folksongs retain African elements? Still, even in the present stage of the investigation, this study would have been more convincing had untrained American Negro singing been contrasted with *untrained* American White singing. It is Dr. von Hornbostel who voiced the opinion that American Negro Folksongs are distinctive and possibly "African" with respect to the mannerisms of delivery and to singing technique only<sup>1</sup>; the very same elements which are most apt to be clarified by a method like phonophotography. The task, however, will be far from being a simple one. To gain a final and convincing result with an apparatus going so meticulously into detail, such an investigation ought to include a comparison of the singing of untrained White singers of this country (especially from the South,) with that of Negro singers from the South and from the West Indies, to establish as full a transition as possible to African singing habits. On the African continent, it will be necessary to establish by statistical method the characteristics of African Negro singing in the areas from which the

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<sup>1</sup> See "Review of American Negro Songs," *International Review of Missions*, XV, 748ff.



American Negro was chiefly imported. If in this area it is found that no single type of singing technique predominates but that there is a blend of many types, complications will arise. Also the question is still open as to how much of the freedom found in American or African Negro singing, felt to be characteristically Negro by the investigators, is general to primitive singing or untutored singing, and how much of it is a distinctly Negro cultural trait. The investigation will also have to face the difficulty that we have no records of White singing in America in the slave-period with which to compare Negro singing as we find it today.

In concluding, one must emphasize both the extreme usefulness of the technique when used as an additional instrument and the danger of looking upon it and utilizing it as a self-sufficient discipline. It seems especially risky to shut out acoustic experience entirely. That is, to propose records on which the songs appear only as visual and not also as acoustic records. This insufficiency could be probably remedied without insurmountable technical difficulties. It must be stressed that a parallel experimental-phonetic study of the language and intimate knowledge of the culture in question are necessarily complementary to the method as it is being developed now. As to the essence of this method, it represents a technical refinement by which certain details are brought to view very closely and by which a sharp insight is gained into the structure of the sound-waves. One feels prompted to remark, however, that this physical realm is coexistent only but not identical with music as human experience. Music is subject to human expression and communication and one of the aims of the investigator of musical forms strange to his musical experience will always be to attempt to reproduce in himself the acoustic and esthetic experience accompanying these forms in their own setting. It is mainly in the course of this process that the artistic patterns to be discovered reveal themselves. An objective experimental discipline may complement in this process sense-experience but not supplant it; its data, disparate from the reality of experience, will always tend to pattern themselves artificially of their own.

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TALES OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, Selected and annotated by Stith Thompson, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1929.

Professor Thompson presents in the present volume a well arranged selection of Indian tales which give to the reader a comprehensive view of the types of stories which are current among our American aborigines. The first part contains mythological stories and myth incidents. This is followed by trickster tales, hero tales, journeys to the other world, stories of animal wives and husbands, a miscellaneous collection, and finally a series of European folk tales borrowed by the Indians, and a number of Indian versions of Bible stories. The general reader will receive a fairly clear idea of the general contents of American story telling. It is regrettable that too little material is given for the important Southwestern and the Southern Plains areas, for the literature of these areas has a character of its own.

The value of the book for the student of American folklore will be found particularly in the very full comparative notes which will be an indispensable



source for anyone who wishes to study the distribution of incidents of North American folklore. The author has collected in these notes probably all the previously collected concordances and brought the comparisons up to date.

This is followed by a list of motives discussed in the notes, arranged in accordance with Professor Thompson's forthcoming study, "The Materials of Folk Literature, a Classification and Bibliography of Motives." How far this will prove useful will remain to be tested by future work.

The tales themselves have been reprinted, practically without change, from the sources. Unfortunately the author has confined himself almost throughout to English renderings of Indian tales, which so far as literary style is concerned, are more characteristic of the recorder than of the Indian. For this reason the book, while valuable in its contents, does not do justice to the literary problem presented by Indian story telling. Not all texts written in Indian languages are reliable in form, but there is so much material available now, well recorded in Indian text, that the literary problem might well be brought out by a proper selection. Thus the Klamath Collection by Albert S. Gatchet, the Obijwa by Jones, the Menomini by Bloomfield, the Blackfoot by Uhlenbeck (?), the Ponca by James Owen Dorsey, the Dakota by Riggs, the Kwakiutl, Chinook, and Keres by the reviewer, to mention only a few of the larger collections, would have given better insight into the style of Indian story telling, than the selections made by the author. The most reliable among his collections are the Iroquois, Tsimshian, Tlingit, and particularly those taken from Dr. Goddard's collections from the Hupa and Apache.

The literary style of Indian story telling presents most interesting problems. A comparison, for instance, of the style of concise California telling in the form of discourse as against the diffuse character of Southwestern tales, or the lack of imagery in Northwestern American tales with the profuse imagery of Southwestern poetry present problems well worth careful study.

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## KRU PROVERBS

COLLECTED BY

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS AND SIE TA'GBWE.<sup>1</sup>

*Introductory Note.* — In view of the general recognition of the important role which the proverb plays in African life, and the extent to which it is imbedded in African culture, consideration may be given to the insight which can be gained into the psychological attitudes of African peoples thru its utilization and its importance as an ethnographic tool, quite aside from any inherent folkloristic and literary values it may present. The very fact of numbers, impressive in a study such as that of Doke's presentation of Lamba Folklore<sup>2</sup>, is significant. "Lamba proverbs," he says, "seem to be without number. Mulekelela, the Lamba story-teller. . . has a wonderful mine of this lore, and one day reeled off as many as 250 at a single sitting." There are very few works dealing with Africa, even those written by casual travellers, which do not

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<sup>1</sup> As the final draft of this manuscript was being typed, there occurred the sudden and tragic death of Mr. Ta'gbwe. The final consultation over a few remaining points on which there were questions to be asked had taken place only a week before he died; the unexpectedness of the event was accentuated by the fact that he was only about forty years of age, and, apparently, had been in good health up to the time of his last illness. The script remains as it was written; no better tribute to his intelligence and cooperative patience could be devised. A thorough African to the end; a man of strong personality who refused to accept the sanctions of European culture; these proverbs represent the wisdom which satisfied him and after which he was content to pattern his life. In working over these sayings, he always expressed anxiety lest they not be clearly enough interpreted, for, to him, this was one way of showing the White man how his people lived and felt. It is with deepest regret that I record his death, — nothing would have been more in accord with his wish than that the proverbs of his people should constitute his memorial.

Melville J. Herskovits.

<sup>2</sup> Memoir XX, 1927.

include some of these pithy sayings. And it is not without significance that a person such as Sie Ta'gbwe, my informant, a man who has been away from his people for some years, one who never held any position which would give him command of any but the amount of tribal lore known to any lay member of his town, had no difficulty in giving me, in the beginning almost casually, the considerable number of proverbs presented here.

Mr. Ta'gbwe was a member of the Kru tribe of Liberia, and a native of the village of Sikrekpo, sometimes called by the European name of Grandsass. This village is on the seacoast, not far west of Cape Palmas. Unlike the Kru nearer Monrovia, who are primarily a fishing folk, the inhabitants of this part of Liberia farm as well as fish, altho the life on the rivers or in the Atlantic coast-wise surf in the canoes for which these people are famous, bulks large in their occupation. Mr. Ta'gbwe came to this country about 1920, where for a time he attended school. Since then he has lived and worked in Chicago. Owing to the fact that the Kru have reduced their language to writing thru contact with Europeans, he had remained in touch with his people and was in correspondence with his sister and other members of his clan, the Bobo Tòwâô. His father was an important man in the clan-quarter of his town, altho he did not belong to any of the specialized groups, such as the priests or doctors. Since Mr. Ta'gbwe was about 18 years of age when he left his people to go to Monrovia, he had a vivid recollection of the life and customs that prevail among the Kru. This, indeed, was never better illustrated than when he described some plant or animal appearing in a proverb or tale, when he gave a wealth of detail that showed that he had quite mastered the almost microscopic observation that characterizes the recognition of natural phenomena on the part of so many primitive folk.

These proverbs were collected in the course of a linguistic study of Kru which is still in its earliest stages. At the instance of Professor Edward Sapir, who has been occupied for some years in the study of Gweabo, a related tongue, I instituted this research, which was made financially possible thru grants from Northwestern University; and it is a pleasure to express my gratitude both to Professor Sapir for his interest and aid, and to the University for its subsidy. The proverbs themselves appeared as text material, in the course of the principal investigation, often as a part of a story which was being collected. As they were given me, Mr. Ta'gbwe and I discussed them, and it happened again and again that this discussion led us into channels that were highly revealing as to the life and attitudes of the Kru. It soon impressed itself on me that here at hand were instruments thru which much valuable ethnographic material might be made available. I therefore determined to concentrate on this phase of the work, and the results are contained in this paper.



In discussing these sayings, one point may be made at the outset.

It has to do with the difficulty of attempting to understand the meanings which a people derive from proverbs by considering only the texts as given. One of the most impressive points to be remarked in reading the explanations appended to the proverbs is the manner in which the meaning of a given saying which would be obvious to ourselves, is not applied by the Kru, who seize on another which is just as appropriate when one reconsiders the saying. Perhaps the most striking example of this is No. 23, "The sound of the snapping of the trap that has caught me remains in my ears." I have tried the experiment of asking numerous persons to interpret this saying, and almost invariably the answer has come in terms of "The burnt child fears the fire." Yet when we find that the Kru use this in polite conversation to mean, "I did not understand you, will you repeat what you said?", we realise at once that this is quite as logical an application. It would seem, from the point or view of our desire to obtain as full an understanding as is possible of the psychological motivations which underlie cultural phenomena, that to seek explanations such as are given with these proverbs may well repay the extra time which results from an attempt to give each saying its cultural background.

Certain stylistic devices are employed which may be noticed. The most important of these is the manner in which the Kru place many sayings in the mouth of some appropriate animal or plant or natural phenomenon. Thus, in the first fifty of these sayings, chicken, "earth-worm faeces of the palm-nut," "little-foetid-drop-of-water," rooster, alligator, shrimp, dog, "the ill-fortune of the world," crab, trout, and the Gbwetao (another tribe), each expresses a saying that is germane. On just what basis the proverbs are placed in the mouths of those who speak them could not always be ascertained; certainly the Kru, in using them in every-day life, do not invariably trouble to say, "So-and-so-says" before repeating the proverb. Yet there was no question in my informant's mind, apparently, as to which proverbs should be prefaced with this phrase, nor was there any confusion as to the proper animal, plant, or object which was to do the speaking. The pattern goes so deep that often a proverb is preceded by, "The Kru say," which will be found before many of the sayings. As far as I could determine, this is a carry-over, and is used in an explanatory fashion when a Kru is speaking to a foreigner. Mr. Ta'gbwa's use of this prefatory phrase was not consistent, but where it was included I have left the proverbs as they were given me. We often find as a stylistic device the use of a poetic and archaic terminology. Frequently the proverbs are merely phrases taken from folk-tales and myths, or sayings based on them. Where this is the case, I have tried to give enough of a sketch of the story from which the proverb is derived to make the usage intelligible, and in many cases the entire story in text form was collected in writing

from Mr. Ta'gbwa. It is hoped that the balance of those referred to will eventually be available. The proverbs which are derived from stories include Nos. 1, 5, 7, 33, 35, 40, 41, 65, 66, 72, 87, 89, 93, 104, 107, 108, 113, 122, 123, 124, 133, 135, 136, 138, 152, and 184.

The utilisation of these proverbs, as reflected in their explanations, throws a flood of homely light on the daily activities of the people. They are used to correct children and warn them of the things they must not do (34, 69, 92, 112, 132, 136, 169, 189), as well as to rebuke grown-ups when they have done wrong (38, 60, 61, 109, 123, 136). In them, we see people commenting on current happenings (39, 68, 73, 81, 113, 122, 133, 143, 186), settling disputes (56, 172), or commiserating a relative or friend on ill-fortune (31, 35, 177). One may use a proverb to insult someone outside one's family (70, 79, 110, 176), and husbands and wives employ them in family squabbles (20, 161, 192), while a person who interferes in a quarrel may by means of one of these sayings be asked to leave the principals to settle matters themselves (87). The Kru, we find, does not always address the person to whom he is referring, but speaks about him to a bystander (65, 125, 179). While one should exercise all due caution with one's possessions so that later years will not bring poverty (15, 17, 77, 117), yet there is a dislike of the man who is stingy (51), and favors which have been extended merit gratitude (124). The tremendous family solidarity is reflected again and again in the sayings (6, 7, 37, 76, 95, 191), and what we read is only a reflection of the importance of descent-groups in the life of West Africa to which all students of that region have testified. A broader aspect of the social organization of the Kru, the importance of political life, especially in the activities of the courts (26, 27, 82, 94, 135, 157, 185) is clearly shown us, while one special phase of court procedure, trial by ordeal with the poisonous "sasswood" recurs again and again (43, 55, 89, 149, 168).

The politeness of the African has often been remarked, nor are admonitions which impress the necessity of propriety in the behavior of a person lacking (25, 101, 114, 131, 180). We almost envisage the constant raking over of the minutest details of the life of everyone in these small, socially inbred communities, when we read the proverbs which teach the lesson that a person should not gossip (9, 58, 82, 125, 127, 139, 140), while, perhaps as a result of the constant exposure of a man's every act to public attention, we have the numerous injunctions that a person should not boast (30, 40, 48, 54, 107, 108, 134, 142, 155, 163, 170, 182) and that he should not undertake anything which he does not have the capacity to master (145, 146). There is emphasis on self-reliance (18, 110, 130, 162), while the necessity of a man's being prepared to cope with situations before they are presented to him (36) is also brought forward. It is perhaps a commentary on the incorrectness of the traditional idea of the tropical native as a lazy, shiftless person to read that the wisdom of the Kru includes admonitions to prosecute

one's work with all vigor, injunctions that would not be out of place in our bustling culture (24, 52, 91), while perseverance is a favorite theme (3, 11, 103, 166, 167).

These people are not tall, but they admire the person who is physically large (68, 138, 188) nor are they at all remiss in teaching that deference is to be shown to the important man (21, 74, 75, 84, 102, 178) and the one who is noted for his wisdom (106), while the note of cynicism to be found in many of the sayings (notably 19) is to be remarked in the proverbs that teach that a rich man may do things with impunity that would bring punishment to one less powerful (120, 121). There are two themes, however, which, recurring again and again, give further insight into the philosophy of the Kru. They deal with the role of the human being and the nature of man. A human being, the Kru feel, is essentially set off by his dignity as a man, and, as such, he is a complete personality. One can never know him in all his entirety, they say (29, 53, 57, 104, 193), for there is always some reserve by means of which he may do the unexpected. Nevertheless, whatever kind of a person he may be, or however low he may fall, he is still human, and the dignity of humanness is a part of him and he must be given his due (14, 64, 71).

Thus the proverbs of the Kru, set in their cultural background, afford a vivid picture of the life of these people. We see them on land and in their canoes, farming, trading, hunting, fishing. We see them friendly and quarreling, boasting and gossiping, care-free and vengeful, at peace and at war. Murder, theft, and other crimes are not unknown to them, yet there are the courts and the police societies to care for the culprits. Faithful, close-knit family life, and sexual irregularities, existing side by side are made manifest, and we are able to penetrate into their religious life, reading of evil sorcerers and witches, "doctors" and magicians controlling good spirits, and a folkloristic place of origin where the gods reside even now. Our picture is a rounded one. It exhibits a culture that is well-integrated, complete, and a going concern, one peopled by individuals whose attitudes toward life and whose reactions to one another become vividly understandable.

In presenting the proverbs, I have in each case given the Kru text, with interlinear translation, followed by a free rendition, and then the explanation which includes not only the interpretation of the text, but the cultural setting of the proverb concerned. Kru, like so many of the West African languages, utilizes pitch-registers for grammatical purposes, and certainly no textual rendition of the language would be complete without the indication of this important element. There are three registers; high, middle, and low, and a given phonetic combination usually carries a different significance if pronounced in different registers. In addition to the simple tones, there is also inflection, which, involving combination of any two of the tones, may occur on a long or short vowel. The following symbols are utilized in this paper:



High, á; middle, *a* (no sign); low, à  
 High to middle, á; high to low, â  
 Middle to high, ǎ; middle to low, â  
 Low to middle, ã; low to high, ǻ

The sign indicative of tone is placed immediately over the vowel concerned; and no syllable is without its tonal sign, absence signifying the middle register, as indicated above.

The vowels are as follows: *a* (as in *car*), *e* (as *a* in *hate*), *ē* (as in French *été*), *ε* (as in *set*), *i* (as *ee* in *heed*), *ɔ* (as *aw* in *awe*), *o* (as in English *hope*), *ō* (as in French *eau*), and *u* (as in *intrude*). There are, in addition, a series of half-vowels which it has proved difficult to distinguish. In the Kru orthography they are written as full vowels, but pronounced as half-ones. I have written these as superimposed vowels, (*s<sup>e</sup>ná*.) the whole to be regarded as comprising one syllable. The use of diphthongs is common, and these are indicated in this manner, *ie*. The sign indicating register is placed over the first vowel of the combination. Nasalization is indicated by placing a hook under the vowel nasalized, *q*, while the length of a vowel is indicated by the presence or absence of a dot after it, *a* being short, *a'* being long. The same symbol is used for diphthongs, a short combination having nothing, a long one having the dot after the second vowel.

The consonantal system of Kru is:

Voiceless stops: *p, t, k, kp, kpw, tc*

Medials: *T, D, P*

Voiced stops: *b, d, dy, dj, g, gb, gbw*

Voiceless spirants: *f, s, (h)*

Voiced semi-vowels and nasals: *m, n, ŋ, w, y*

Trill: *r (l)*

Certain of these sounds, *t, b, gbw, s*, and *n*, are sometimes pronounced emphatically, the emphasis making for a change of meaning. In such cases, a dot is placed after the letter to indicate this, as *sò*, *year*, *s'ò*, *road leading to a farm*. The form *'b*, which will be found, indicates 'a sound that is at times *b* preceeded by anacrusis, and sometimes is a shadowy *mb*. Whether these are to be distinguished as grammatically significant has not been determined as yet. M. J. H.

1. *ko tá flá na pó la kó nè dō dyè du lě wo lē*  
 for fly place instruction for and bee-one took-there born-there  
*ɔ dyi·pō*  
 he know

*From the instruction of the house-fly the bee became wise.*

This proverb is derived from the story of the orphaned bee, who, listening to the wisdom given the house-fly by his parents,

2. *bé kâ* *yí mɛ* *ně* *Tě* *nu* *gbwè*  
dog-like wild if-die and (sorrow) make dog  
animal (shame)

The bé kò is a wild animal which looks like a dog, and which the dog will never retrieve when the hunter has killed one. The proverb resembles our own feeling of "like to like," and is the equivalent to saying that a hurt to one's friend is a hurt to oneself. The explanation, however, is that this is a hurt to oneself, because the person who has harmed the friend may do the same to the one who resents it. The proverb, as used by the Kru, explains the fact that a grievance is being held by one person against another. Compare this saying with No. 47.

- Chicken says, "The hand that keeps on putting into the basket will soon have it full."*

4. *flà nyɔ̃ nē dī dɛ tɕó*  
lazy person not eat thing much

This proverb is only used during the meal to shame someone who is eager for food but has refused to do a task.

5. *Ṣə p̣â nyeně wé dyè na ně yi p̣â ṃə bε ně bε mlě*  
 worm faeces palm-nut say that if-enter me suck and suck pus  
*yi p̣â ṃə dé p̣o ně p̣o teĩǎ dé*  
 if-enter me away lay and lay oil away

*Earth-worm-faeces-of-the-palm-nut says, "If you suck my juice you suck pus, but if you throw me away, you throw oil away."*

*Ṣə p̣â* = worm; *Ṣə p̣â* = palm-nut which is over-ripe on one side. In this condition, it is white in color, while the other (good) side is red. The juice from the white side is called the faeces of *Ṣə p̣â*, who is the mythological worm from whose droppings the earth was formed. The proverb has its origin in the custom of infanticide which the Kru had practiced in earlier times, crippled children having been exposed because of the belief that such children were destined to come to no good end. It would be said to someone who was about to discard something which unconsidered thought had convinced him was worthless.

6. *Dya kwa dyá kwà ne kp̣ɔ̀ ɣyḷə mẉə*  
 bring-hand bring-hand it interested kinfolk

*To bring kin-folk together makes for common interest.*

When those related in the same blood-group come together, bringing their property for the common good, the rich sharing with those who have been less fortunate, it keeps up interest in the family. This proverb would be said by someone trying to get estranged relatives together for a common purpose, to one of the group who would be afraid of economic loss thru solicitation by poorer relatives.

7. *Ṭə nĩ ṣ'ə bwè na ně ḍju wlo wḷε ε p̣à le ɣyp̣.*  
 drop-water-rotten-little say that son heart-born it put-there person

*Little-foetid-drop-of-water says, "To have a son is a blessing."*

*Ṭə nĩ ṣ'ə ·bwè* is the name of a man who was very poor and whose body was covered with festering sores. In the story, no one would go near him except his children who cared for him. The Kru use this to express the feeling that children will come to one's aid when one's friends have deserted one.

8. *sao di í ɣwé ně si ì kũ ẉịe*  
 disobey mother word and lead evil-spirit road

*Ignore the instruction of your mother and you take the way to destruction.*



This proverb is self-explanatory. One point worthy of note is the use of the poetic form, *dí í*, "mother," instead of the form, *dí*, used in ordinary speech.

9. *Si dyěi plê ε·dya slê*  
Not seen tell it-bring trouble

*To tell what has not been witnessed brings trouble.*

This proverb is an admonition not to gossip.

10. *bu blô dε nē dyé yy?*  
hurry thing not reach person

*The hastily thrown missile does not reach its man.*

"Haste makes waste."

11. *ko kâ na nê nɔ dε nē dylî yò dyěi*  
rooster said that make thing and spirit then see

*Rooster says, "Accomplish first, then the spirit will notice you."*

The proverb is used when a man wishes to achieve office, the feeling being that if he is to be chosen for a responsible position, he must have done something to prove his ability,— he is to be judged by his past accomplishments. The use of rooster as the one who pronounces the proverb arises out of the fact that roosters are not supposed to fight amongst themselves unless there has been some provocation.

12. *dé nê nià nē dε bē yɔ klî ε si lê*  
thing that live and thing wine-maker then stomach it not there  
*nɔ pô nyô kli nê*  
rum - seek person stomach not

*That which is in the stomach of the palm-wine maker is not that which is in the stomach of him who seeks drunkenness.*

This proverb, to the Kru, expresses the idea that some men earn to save, and some to spend. The reference to the wine-maker is explained by the fact that the idea in the mind of the man who makes the wine, and in that of him who gets drunk on it are unlike, altho they both center about palm-wine. Compare this proverb with No. 47.

13. *kă duε bε ɔ nið kpě mǔε s'ô kε ɔ s'ri ni tâ*  
how elephant large his-with-might all too but he not water cross  
*tε bε lé*  
cross largest

*However large, however strong the elephant, he cannot cross the water.*

The lesson carried by this proverb is to recognize one's limitations. It also has the implication for the Kru of our saying "Knowledge is better than power."

14. *n̄ nyl̄l̄ nē di bí di bí nyl̄l̄ nē wr̄ù gbwà ɣwì*  
we have head head have saying words

*Every head must do its own thinking.*

This proverb would be pronounced by a chief priest when he gave the people the instructions of the gods, to convey to the people that altho the gods had spoken, their instructions should not be followed blindly. They are to be translated by each individual according to his own need, and followed intelligently.

15. *sà l̄l̄ pò l̄l̄ ɛ si lé wɛ wɛ dyi pō*  
take out put in it not there finish finish knowing  
there there

*To take out and put back, never empties the container.*

This proverb cautions against continual giving where there is no return. It also has the connotation of not allowing others to take advantage of one.

16. *b̄ora d̄ǎ ɣyɛn̄p̄ nē s̄ǎ nē p̄q n̄ó kl̄è*  
rice plant women that two not meet here field

*Two clever women do not plant rice in one field.*

The meaning of the proverb lies in the fact that in Kru practice two women will actually work the same field, especially when both are not too experienced in their farming. However, it appears that when they become more proficient, each tries to take advantage of the other, thus giving rise to quarrels. The proverb itself is used when advice on some matter is first solicited and then rejected, when it has the meaning of, "If you know this as well as I do, then I need not tell you what I think." It also has the meaning, apparently, that there is no harmony where there are two leaders; and that people who have used cunning will not trust one another.

17. *t̄à na n̄é dyl̄l̄ p̄á si w̄è w̄è d̄è*  
squirrel say that (sun-enter) not finish finish thing  
summer

*Squirrel says, "The dry season cannot have an end."*

It is during the dry season that the Kru obtain their food. In the rainy season crops do not grow, and there is the added

discomfort of bad weather. Hence this is both an admonition to save in the time of plenty for the time of need ("Waste not, want not") and an expression of regret that the easy times do not last longer. The quotation is spoken by the squirrels because, first, they are only seen in the dry season when food is plenty, and second, because the Kru believe that the squirrel does not realize then that food will ever be scarce.

18. *wro pè na nè à dyi pō ni t̂p̂ à dyi pō ta t̂p̂*  
alligator say that we know water canoe we know war canoe  
(underground-lie)

*Alligator says, "We know the peace canoe from the war canoe."*

"When alligator sees Kru people going fast, he knows they're going to the farm and so he stays on the bank; when they paddle, paddle easy, he says, 'They're looking for me,' and goes under water," explained Ta'gbwæ. The proverb itself would be used, for example, to a man of a potential enemy village who wanted to know why he was being watched; it might be used in the same way in sport to a member of one's family. It also carries the meaning that one cannot take another's judgement in matters which concern oneself.

19. *à dyē wré kr̂ nyōne dyē sié kl̂ mō nŷp̂ nō dyia sié*  
we see old man that see good world you person-absent see good  
(old world person)

*kl̂ mō dya gbwa lù s'ie n'aa nŷŵia*  
world you old broken pot live (by) fire side

*When we see an old man who finds the world too good to leave, we say, "You will never find the eternally good world, for you will be an old broken pot by the fireside by then."*

The phrase *dya gbwa lù*, which literally means "old broken pot" is used by the Kru to speak of an old person who is no longer of any use in his community. The proverb would be used in referring to an old person who took great care of himself so that he might prolong his life to the last moment possible. The feeling of the Kru is that this is not good, and the proverb might be interpreted as meaning, "Why does that person want to live longer? If he is looking for eternal life in this world, he'll be so old when he finds it that he won't be able to enjoy it!" Another aspect of the interpretation of the proverb is that we all have trouble in this world, and that all of us long for a world without pain. Hence, a person who seeks to prolong his life is inferred to be looking for this kind of a world. But there is no world without pain, and even if



there were, the seeker would, on finding it, be too old to find pleasure in it.

20. *nyenõ pō na nē si sa ká tu ká dyí pō nē sē nyenõ*  
 a-group-of- say that not (changing-keeping) know that not women  
 women take care of things

*The women say, "A woman who does not know how to care for her husband's property is not a good wife."*

This proverb would be said to a woman who was careless about her house and who did not care for her share of the work. There is apparently no significance outside its obvious meaning.

21. *krǎo na nē Tē ple djú gbwé fũε*  
 Kru say that trouble afraid (face - broad)  
 man who is respected

*The Kru people say, "Trouble is afraid of the man who is respected."*

That is, the prominent man gets attention. The proverb arises out of a situation where, for example, a man has attempted unsuccessfully to collect a debt. He thereupon sends one who is spoken of as, "*o kɔ djú gbwé fũε*," "he has a broad face," one who is respected in the community, to see the person who owes it and to collect it. And where the ordinary person would not be heard, the man who is respected will be successful in his mission, because the debtor knows that his word, if the matter is brought before the courts, will be so impressive, that punishment will follow. Altho the proverb would seem to have a wider application, and, indeed, appeared to hold the meaning of, "To him that hath, shall it be given," *Ta'gbwε*, when the parallel between the two phrases was specifically brought to his attention, vigorously denied that there would be any but the meaning which has been given above, namely, that the respected person can do things which the ordinary one cannot accomplish.

22. *Tcīε klǎ na nē dye mīε dye ngyáno*  
 dry-wind say that look friend look yourself

*The dry-wind says, "Look at your friend and you will see yourself."*

When *tcīε klǎ*, a wind that blows from the north, off the Sahara, comes, people's faces become dry and the skin about the corners of the mouth cracks, and people look ugly and feel uncomfortable. At such times, palm-oil is freely applied to the skin. In spite of the wider applicability that is obvious to us, *Ta'gbwε* insists that the saying is used only during the time this wind blows, to point to the general discomfort.

23. *tu tu kpó mọ kε kpε nē sīe lē mọ nị kị*  
 trap catch me but sound it remain there my ear

*The sound of the snapping of the trap that has caught me remains in my ears.*

The proverb is used in polite conversation when the person addressed does not understand what has been said to him, — it is the equivalent of our "I beg your pardon?" To the Kru this suggests that altho the trap has snapped and he has heard it, he does not as yet grasp the meaning of the sound. The interpretation of "Foresight is better than hindsight," is not made by the Kru.

24. *bwə nó nā ɔ mo nē wuu tra*  
 foot-his walk it he it thorn cut  
 (lit. suffix = "possession")

*The foot that walks is the one that the thorn pricks.*

In other words, he who is willing to get hurt is the man who succeeds. Yet even this interpretation may be too broad to fit the meaning of the saying for the Kru. The example given me of its use was that of a family where there are three children, each of whom in turn the mother asks to go for firewood. The last obeys, and she prepares a special dish for him at the next meal to show her gratitude. Were the others to protest that they, too, should share this dish, the mother would quote this proverb. In this sense, it may perhaps signify that the person who has done something is the one deserving of special attention.

25. *S'p̄ na nē da bwī bwǝε ɣɣɔ wlē*  
 Chickēn say that stranger feet person small

*Chicken says "The feet of the stranger are small."*

"Small feet" is a figure of speech which indicates that the person referred to has little say in things and little power because he lacks sufficient knowledge. The saying is put in Chicken's mouth because the chicken has small feet. The proverb itself would only be used to a stranger in the village who tried to tell the natives how to do things. The feeling of the Kru is that the stranger should not interfere in local matters.

26. *krǎo na nē klō bli lī si sa sē dyi pō*  
 Kru say that city trouble not settle know

*The Kru people say "Disputes between citizens are hard to settle."*

The meaning of this saying is that equality can exist only between equals. That is, if two Kru are judged, the judgment will not favor either the one or the other. The difficulty comes in establishing equal citizenship; it is essential that each prove his full Kru ancestry. For according to Kru customs, the Kru courts, apparently, will always favor the Kru over the non-Kru, and the full member of the tribe over the partially-descended one.

27. *teĩnõ na nẽ Tẽ ka lẽ dya ylẽ nyɔ nyẽ nĩ lõ*  
shrimp say that trouble deny bring there person faeces head

*Shrimp says "To deny trouble (that you know) brings faeces on your head."*

This saying is based on the story of why the shrimp's faeces are to be found on his head, this being the result of his having falsely denied an accusation brought against him. The proverb is used when someone denies an accusation that the accuser knows to be true, since in this event "the case will be too heavy" for him, and his conscience will make him confess.

28. *Kǎ ɣwɔo mɛ Tẽ ɔ soo núa*  
crab heard to die trouble his-without richness

*When crab realised his death was near he lost his richness.*

Crabs are hunted by closing the holes which they make in the sand, whereupon they have nowhere to escape and are easily caught. The Kru feel that the crab, when he finds his hole closed against him, knows he is about to die, and struggles against being caught. Hence the saying refers to anyone who, equally ineffectually, struggles against death. And since the crab is thought, in his fear, to lose the "richness" that is his; i. e., the fat of his tail, so it is a reference to the change in a human being when he recognizes that death is upon him. This proverb may be compared with No. 39.

29. *àtò ne pu pò à'si kpǎ lá tɔ nè*  
we-know that chicken- we-not place- know  
hawk leading-to

*Tho we know chicken-hawk, we do not know where he flies.*

This was explained as meaning "We may know where a man is going, but not what he is going to do." In other words, one cannot foretell the future. The illustration given for this proverb was that altho a child is ours, and we may train him to behave as he should, we can never know what is in his mind, or whether he will disgrace his family or not.



30. *gbwē na nê ki tiē fu fuē nē nŷ ɣyɔ dūē*  
dog say that running breath not make person on

*Dog says "Short breath does not only come to him that is pursued."*

That is, the one who pursues also loses breath. The proverb is used to silence some one who is boasting. Dog says the proverb because he is the fastest runner of all the animals, — "you can't run a dog down to catch him," was the explanation.

31. *ɣwâ nâ nê dye dye dē nē dya ló tá dūē klo*  
*ɣwâ* say that (look-look-thing) not coming place one city  
-gift

*ɣwâ* says, "All gifts do not go to one city."

The phrase "one city" expresses for the Kru "one time," the the literal meaning of the proverb thus becoming, "All one's good-fortune does not happen at one time," or "lucky days don't follow each other." The animal in whose mouth the proverb is placed, *ɣwâ*, is one for which the English equivalent could not be obtained. It lives on dry ground near the women's fields, where it makes its hole. It steals cassava and other produce from the fields. Like the case of the squirrel in No. 17, it regrets the coming of the rainy season, and wants its "gift," analogous to summer, all the time. The proverb thus becomes both a consoling one for hard times, and an admonition not to forget them when one has had good fortune.

32. *ni lō kpɔ na nê mîē yrē mō kpwa nê kpwà lō*  
water-head rattle- say that friend if you take then take him  
(overhanging) snake

*Overhanging-rattlesnake says "If your friend takes you, take him also."*

This snake is one which, suspended from the trees over a river, drops into the canoe and twines itself about the neck of the steersman; "because he wants the canoe to be capsized," it was explained. The literal meaning is that one should not jump out of the boat leaving it to the snake; but the extended meaning is that one should strike back when attacked.

33. *Tǒ dji Tǒ dji*  
Tiger, tiger,  
*ɣyɔ nē kó nê kǔ dá ká*  
person that have it death old  
*ɣyɔ nē kó nê ku dí de*  
person that have it death new

mɔ ɣyó nó kò ná kǔ dá ká  
you person not had my death old

ɔ kò nɔ ku dí de  
he have my death new

nà kwá nɔ blé blé yúo be  
my kinfolk make wipe-out wipe-out self too

*Tiger, Tiger*

*The man who has the old death*

*And the man who has the new death, —*

*Your man has not the old death.*

*But he that has my new death,*

*My kinsmen will wipe you out and themselves, too.*

This takes its point from the story of *Dji* (wrongly called by the Kru "tiger") and *Nó*, the small bush-deer, who is the trickster in the familiar West-African cycle. *Dji*, not having been recompensed for services rendered, threatens to kill *Nó*, but is deterred by the above. In every-day life, this poem would only be quoted to someone who wished to kill for revenge. The feeling is that if one kills a person who is suspected of causing the death of a relative, the same thing may happen to the avenger's family in the next generation, until, if the feud is continued long enough, both families are wiped out.

34. bá ɣyó nē mu klò mà nē  
pepper person not go city village and

*The disagreeable person does not go to city or village.*

"Pepper-man" is the term for a reckless, troublesome person. The Kru feel that such a person in his own village, in making it unpleasant for strangers, dare not go to other towns, since these persons, now on their own ground, would take their revenge. The proverb teaches that one must behave well, especially before company, and is spoken most often to young and obstreperous persons.

35. klɔ né kpà ná gbwe yí ɔ nē pɔa wrɔ bɔ ē mē nē  
world-that-(is)- say dog if she not tie rope around it is that  
bad luck

kpà nē mɔ  
bad-luck that me

*The-ill-fortune-of-the-world* says, "The bitch's ill fortune that does not let her tie a rope about her waist is the same that is on me."

The "*krò krɔ*," the "luck of the world," is a figure of speech for unreasoning fate. The proverb is one used in commiserating

with someone on ill fortune, and is used by women, principally in consoling someone who is barren. "It is the luck-of-the-world," they say in essence, "which is causing your trouble." The reference to the dog's ill fortune has to do with the fact that, not being able to clothe herself ("tie a rope about her waist") she was partaking of the world's ill-luck, for had she been able to clothe herself, she would perhaps have become human. The saying is derived from the mythology of the Kru.

36. *dyíē dyḗ dē nē bwō yīē ple*  
eye look thing that foot before fear

*The eye must see before the foot can be afraid.*

The Kru feel that bravery may often be the action of a stupid man who had not the intelligence to recognize his danger. The proverb is used to encourage a person who is slow at arriving at conclusions.

37. *krāō na nē dyíē nē kó'tí mlá nē f'èē*  
Kru say that eye not present nose not cry

*The Kru say, "When the eye weeps, the nose does not rest."*

If one member of a group is harmed, all the others are affected. The proverb would be used to say that a group comes to the aid of one of its members, but the group in the mind of Kru is one of relationship, and the persons who bring aid must be members of the same family as the one who has been harmed. A more general application is not made.

38. *bwō ó mīē ε mē nē mō bwō ó nyānō*  
do-not fellow it is that you do-not yourself

*Do not do to your fellow-men what you do not do to yourself.*

In its meaning, this proverb is the same as our similar one. It is used by the Kru to rebuke someone who is selfish toward others.

39. *Kǎ na nē yī mē mō nē bí tīē mǎ nē mō*  
Crab says that if die you then hole lost and you

*Crab says, "If you are about to die, you lose (sight of) your hole."*

Compare No. 38 above, for the reason that crab is the speaker of this saying and the manner in which the reference to "losing one's hole" is apropos. The example given of its use is that of a man's dying thru the capsizing of his canoe. People would then say this proverb of him because the dead man had "lost sight" of swimming.



40. *blɛ blɛ P̄ō kɪ p̄i nɪ p*  
 (being)-a- trhow white- waters  
 show-off man

*Trying to show off threw white-man into the water.*

The proverb is taken, in part, from a folk-tale involving the son of Dji, the tiger, and in part from an actual occurrence. They tell that a long time ago, a white man was watching the Kru in their boats, from his ship. A storm came up, and, as he was trying to show the Kru how good a seaman he was by standing on the rail without holding on to any support, the ship's motion caught him unawares and, falling into the water, he was drowned. Hence, the Kru say, he was drowned because he tried unnecessarily to impress the Kru. The story of Dji's son, thought of in this connection by the Kru, involves the custom of the girls' showing special attention to a young man who attracts their fancy. They bring him food and gifts, and otherwise show him favors. The son of Dji, to attract the attention of the girls, died doing unnecessarily foolhardy deeds. The meaning of the proverb to the Kru is, "Do not be too ready to exhibit your prowess, for you may be hurt if you go too far." In other words, do not attempt what is impossible or useless, merely to attract attention.

41. *ŋw̄ɛ̄ na n̄ɛ bl̄ɔ se k̄é se k̄è n̄ɛ ɛ ɲyl̄ɛ̄*  
 ŋw̄ɛ̄ say that world move- move- then it stand  
 slowly slowly

*ŋw̄ɛ̄ says, "The world moves slowly back and forth, and then it stands still."*

*ŋw̄ɛ̄* is the animal described in No. 31. The reason the saying is put in the mouth of this animal is that for him, when the hunters are pursuing him, "the world shakes," but that when they have failed to find him and he is quiet again, the "world stands still." The use of the phrase "*seké-sekè*" with this meaning is poetic; it is not used in everyday speech. The belief of the Kru is that the world does actually move something like a pendulum, first to one side, and then a pause, and then to the other. The moral pointed out is that though present trouble seems serious, respite may be looked for.

42. *s̄a kpw̄ě s̄p̄ s̄á kpw̄ě t̄a n̄ɛ m̄ô kpa*  
 (remove-revenges) two (remove-revenges) three and you-are revenge  
 get-even get-even  
*sa ȳð*  
 remove doer

*To avenge twice, to avenge three times, wipes out injury.*

This is said to cover cases of revenge. A *kpa* is an injury that is not forgotten but is kept to oneself to be avenged when possible, as, e. g., when a man refuses to save another's mother when he sees her attacked, altho he could have saved her. If, then, his canoe should capsize several years later, and the woman's son see him and let him drown, this is avenging a *kpa*. The court cannot hold such a person, for he is performing such vengeance, and this proverb would be quoted in extenuation. It therefore means, "Watch when you wrong a man, for he will get even and more when the chance presents itself."

43. *fɔ'bwɔ̃ na nẽ djrù Tè nō nō ka nẽ*  
trout says that sass- trouble lives place-where-argument-  
wood takes-place

*Trout says, "The case involving the ordeal must be tried in court."*

*Djrù* is the tree called "sasswood," the bar kof which makes a deadly poison used in trying cases involving murder by means of witchcraft. The poison is drunk and if it is retained in the stomach and the accused dies, he is proved guilty. However, the meaning of the proverb is that conviction does not come without a struggle, and that one should not be too sure of his ground. Trout speaks because he is of a fighting nature, and even when caught and placed in the canoe with his tail cut off, he will often struggle to freedom. "Altho you have the advantage over me now, I shall get it later."

44. *krǎo na nẽ sɛnɛ nẽ sɪ plẽ nyɔ̃ nẽ blá wó tu pẽ*  
Kru say that snake that pass before person not hit it (tree) instead  
stick

*The Kru say, "When the snake has passed, one does not strike the ground."*

This proverb only refers to doing a person an injury. Its meaning is, "Seize the opportunity when it presents itself."

45. *gbwetǎɔ̃ na nẽ ǎ'kɔ̃ nu mwɛ ǎ'siɔ̃ nyɛ kɔ̃*  
*Gbwetǎɔ̃* say that we-have bird we-not eggs-have

*The Gbwetǎɔ̃ say, "We have the bird, but not its eggs."*

The *Gbwetǎɔ̃* are a war-like sub-tribe of the Kru, who often fought with Ta'gbwɛ's people of the town of Grandsass. Among them, if a member of the tribe leaves, his children, if they are born outside of the tribal territory, are not recognized members of the tribe. Were these *Gbwetǎɔ̃*, for example,

to wage war against a village where this former tribesman made his home, he himself would be spared, but his children would be treated as all the other members of the defeated village. This practice is limited to these people, as among the other Kru the descent in the paternal line is recognized no matter where the children are born, and in consequence, this practice on the part of the *Gbwetǎǎ* is looked upon as strange. The proverb itself is apparently restricted to speaking of the *Gbwetǎǎ*, and signifies that the father's danger is not as great as that of his children.

46. *gba wrǒ pè na nē dǔrǒ da da*  
crocodile say that sun long-long

*Crocodile says, "The sun takes a long, long time."*

*Gbawrǒpè* is a crocodile that does not hunt, but waits motionlessly where he is until his prey is within reach, and since the meaning of the proverb to the Kru is, "It makes no difference how long I must wait, I shall get my chance some time," it is obvious why the saying is put in his mouth. The reference to the sun is made because of the deliberateness with which it moves across the sky.

47. *dé né nǎ nē békò dyí ε mε nē nē nē gbwè dyi*  
thing is-live there békò eyes it-is that there dog eyes

*That which is in the eye of the békò is in the eye of the dog.*

As in No. 2 and No. 12, the point turns on the resemblance of the dog and the *békò*. The two animals have in common their cunning and a similarity of outward appearance. They also snatch at food in the same way, but they eat different food. The meaning of the proverb is that two dissimilar people will act in the same way, and is extended to imply that one act of injustice will engender another.

48. *núo mu mú na nē ɲwǒ wrǒ yi wà blú nó mo nò blu wà*  
(water-go-go) say that mouth see if fall it-is fall  
crocodile

*Crocodile says, "What my mouth sees, does not get away."*

*Núo-mu-mú* is a different type of crocodile from *gbawrǒpè* mentioned in No. 46. It is fiercer; one which hunts for its prey rather than lies in wait for it. Hence the meaning of the proverb that a man who has pledged himself to accomplish something should be like this crocodile. That is, a man should not promise something which is beyond his capacity to fulfill.



49. *krǎo na nē nq nǐ yì wrô dyě*  
Kru say that drink water if heart see

*The Kru say, "If you drink water you will know your mind."*

Water, in this connection, is the equivalent of coolness, hence, "to drink water" means to pause and calm oneself in a crisis; to take thought and "be refreshed so that you will do the right thing," as the explanation went. "Heart" here means the mind.

50. *dye nâ dε pò dyíe bă wrō dye mĩε dē sâ*  
to-see my thing put eye friend inside to-see companion thing take  
*dyíe bă wrō*  
eye friend inside

*He who has, turns his eye inward; he who has not, looks outward for friends.*

"To put one's eyes inside" means to seek for one's own use and not to give; it is a term applied to a stingy man. Therefore this proverb is used when one speaks of a man who is not liberal. It is also used of one who, never having given anything away when he had means, and having fallen on bad times, asks favors of others. The free translation given was: "When you've got things you don't see anyone, but when you have nothing you look for friends to help you, and begin following your companions."

51. *krǎo na nē klq klq djúgbwe nē kú*  
Kru say that (winter-world-son- not grow  
little)

*The Kru say, "The child that is not fed will not grow."*

A *klq klq djúgbwe* is a term applied to a child who has nothing to eat, — "who sits and looks hungry while you eat," as the phrase was explained. Altho the proverb, both from its text and from the explanation further given, that the child will not grow "because what you give him isn't enough to feed him," might be logically considered as a reproach to be levelled against parents, or even an injunction to look out for one's dependents, its meaning to the Kru is quite otherwise. They use it to bring home the lesson to a child that he must ask for what he wants at home and not sit silent so as to mislead his parents into believing that he was satisfied; also, that having failed to make his wants known, he is not to go to neighbors and beg.

52. *wrà wrà nà nyê Tě duε ti*  
 quick-quick- person find elephant—(sentence completion)  
 walk

*The man who walks fast finds the elephant.*

"Elephant" is the equivalent of anything big, and here has the meaning of good fortune. Thus luck is said to come to the man who goes straightest and hardest after what he wants.

53. *krăo na ně Tē wε dyie nē wé wrô*  
 Kru say that trouble finish eye not finish heart

*The Kru say, "What the eye has forgotten the heart still remembers."*

To the Kru, this proverb means that no one but the individuals concerned can tell how long after an event has passed the rancor will remain fresh. The situation given in illustration was as follows: Suppose two men in the *pq tɔ*, (a quarter of the town in which live persons related in the paternal line, and who would be known as *pq tɔ nyé pô*), quarrel. Then the *pq tɔ níε fuê*, the elder of the quarter, will settle the case by putting water in a bowl and, taking some in his mouth, sprinkle some on the ground between the two disputants, signifying that the dispute has been settled and that "trouble has been washed out between them." This proverb would apply to these two thereafter, for altho the rancor has been "wiped off the face" and the men act as friends, no one knows the extent to which there is still a grudge "in the heart."

54. *krăo na ně mε mε djú nyēně boa*  
 Kru say that die die child name big

*The Kru say, "The name of a child that has died is big."*

This proverb represents a social criticism of the tendency of parents to dwell on the qualities of their dead children. The feeling of the Kru is that this is not proper; "a dead child should not be remembered like a great man who has died." The more general application of the proverb, however, is to curb wastefulness.

55. *krăo na ně djrù ná nyé ɔ wè klq*  
 Kru say that sasswood did-drink person his witchcraft hurt

*The Kru say, "The witchcraft of one who has drunk the sasswood is dangerous."*

Trial by ordeal for witchcraft has been mentioned in No. 43. The reason why the witchcraft of one who has survived the

ordeal is especially dangerous is because if he is again accused, people will not believe him guilty since he has been acquitted of this same charge once before. The proverb would only be used in speaking of such a person; it has no wider application.

56. *nu kù wrê nyé gbwê si wrê*  
ear live human-being not live

*The ear lives longer than a man.*

That is, the ear will come to know what happened before one's birth. The saying is related to the Kru custom of the old men sitting about telling stories of the old days, and of their own experiences. Often when a young person sits by listening, and is rebuked for eavesdropping, someone in the group will speak this proverb, and the meaning will be, "Let him always listen to the things of long ago and learn." Compare No. 115 with this saying.

57. *nyé gbwe si wê nà nyé nē tcêo dyíe*  
human being not bunch-of- that chip eye  
palm-nuts-  
person

*A man is not a bunch of palm-nuts, that you may sample him.*

The use of *dyíe* is here poetic and equivalent to "forehead." The meaning is that a man deserves a chance since it is impossible to take him apart to see what is inside him, and the proverb is used in instances where one individual is inclined to reject another without testing him, because he suspects that the man will turn out badly.

58. *dyà nu kù bì pò lé Tê εnyé po To ti*  
bring ear must put trouble its-person do murder-thing

*To tell trouble-making stories brings about murder.*

"To do murder" is the equivalent of "to cause trouble," and the meaning of the proverb is essentially to teach that one should not talk of things that do not concern him. It is used to rebuke a gossip.

59. *mè klì p ó pò yi pō dui*  
you remembering man knowing years

*You are a clever man, and there is nothing you do not know.*

*Pó pò* and *klì* are poetic forms, not found in every-day linguistic usage. *Pó pò* is the name of a man who lived long ago, but as used here means "imaginative man," or "man of



knowledge," as indicated by the combined use of *klî*, "rememberance." The phrase really means a man who remembers everything, a type which the Kru believe no longer exists. The saying itself is an ironic remark used in trading, as, for example, when one man is attempting to get the best of another in driving a bargain.

60. *krăo na ně fɔ fũɛ si nyeni nyenie*  
Kru say that resting not get-there getting-there

*The Kru say, "A person does not reach his destination by resting."*

This, as is obvious, is a rebuke to a lazy person. The extended meaning is a commentary that "Life is not easy."

61. *gbwe na ně na muó Ta bwô ně yâ wru*  
dog say that my-going place stop and (=dyâ, say  
bring)

*Dog says, "I must stop going (to beg) before I can speak (my mind)."*

Dog speaks because he begs, and here represents the beggar who must take what is given him. "Beggars cannot be choosers." Just as dog does not provide for himself, but lives on charity, so with the lazy man. The saying would be used to a person whom the speaker knows, who asks something and then objects to what he has been given. It also carries the meaning of: When one needs a person's aid, one is powerless before him.

62. *krăo na ně mɔ bɔ bwô plê n'iu kru ně dya s'pò*  
Kru say that you cockroach afraid ants many and bring chickens  
*ɲwɔ*  
mouth

*The Kru say, "When the cockroach flees the ants he runs to the chickens' mouths."*

This proverb has to do only with situations involving danger to life, and, as might be imagined, it is like our saying "Out of the frying pan into the fire." There are certain types of ants which eat the cockroach in West Africa, and, of course, these insects are food for chickens.

63. *dyé òye dé nē ɔ y'ie p'ɛ n'p p'ɔ*  
eye see thing then it-make price trade

*Look at what is offered before you set your price.*

That is, do not buy anything that you have not seen. There is no wider significance to the Kru that would be akin to the

meaning which we might apply, since the saying only applies to one's acquiring something. Thus, it might be used by a young man who has been urged to marry a girl favored by his parents but whom he has never seen.

64. *gbwi siê kre gbwē na ně ni be djũ mɔ krò· krúyé nyɔ'*  
(north-wind-farm-little) say that male child he thorny-tree person  
the north wind

*nē pô le yi rɔ kpa dyí*  
not hit there if slap eye

*North-wind says, "Man is like the thorny tree; you must think before you strike him."*

The full title of the north wind is "the north-wind which starts from the little farm" vaguely located in the mind of the Kru. *Ni be djũ* (male child) is the term used to designate a man; the *krò· krúyé* is a hardwood tree with large sharp thorns, which requires thought before one starts to cut it down. The meaning of the proverb is that nothing is greater than a human being, and it would be used to rebuke someone who says "I cannot do this." The example of its use given was a situation where a woman is drowning in a stream. A man comes along, and is implored by the other women on the bank to save the one in the water. He refuses, saying it is too dangerous. This would be shouted at him to shame him and to make him do what is asked of him. Paraphrased, the proverb signifies: fight your man if you wish, but think out your plan carefully and you will be the better prepared to come out the winner. The emphasis, however, is that one should always try, the saying does *not* mean, as we might think, "Be cautious."

65. *Kpō ló n'io Dɔ̃ Tō lɔ̃ n'io Dɔ̃*  
*Kpōlɔ̃ with-her difference Tōlɔ̃ with-her difference*

*Kpōlɔ̃ and Tōlɔ̃ are not the same.*

*Kpōlɔ̃* and *Tōlɔ̃* are general terms meaning "women;" they are thought to have been names of women whom no one has ever seen. The idea of the saying is that one does not always mean the person to whom one is speaking, i. e., that when you are speaking to *Kpōlɔ̃* you really mean your remark for *Tōlɔ̃*. The proverb is ordinarily used by women. When two of them quarrel, for instance, they may curse each other and thereafter not speak. Later, in another quarrel, one may repeat what was said in the presence of the other, who would object. The first would then speak this proverb, in the sense

of "I'm not speaking to you," but everyone present would know that she really meant her old enemy.

66. *Siè nimlé gbwê na nê grêō nq dyre wâ na gré wó*  
*Siè nimlé little say that loving Nqdyrewâ not love-him*  
*siè pò ka siè pò grè lè bôlǝ ɣwó*  
*siè pò-like Sièpò love (-had) Bôlǝ mouth*

*Siènimlé says, "I love Nqdyrewâ, not like the Sièpò people love, when they say they love Bôlǝ."*

*Siènimlé* is a character in Kru tales who loves *Nqdyrewâ*. She here protests she loves him truly, not as the *Sièpò* people, who when they say they love *Bôlǝ*, do not really mean it. The name *Sièpò*, as a matter of fact, has become notorious with the Kru in this connection, and the word is used to "fool some-one, you use it when you say you like a person but you really don't." The proverb is used usually for a woman who deceives a man. It might also be used in a general way to express doubt about anyone. It would ordinarily be spoken to the deceived man to suggest that if the woman does love him, let her not love him "in her mouth," i. e., by saying she does, but let her prove it with more than words by allowing connection.

67. *yí djrǝ dé nê djrá lē mǝ nê gbwe*  
*if sea-come then you-ask there me fish little*  
*yí ɣwê bwǝ dē nê djrá lē mǝ ɣwê kpa*  
*if palm from-come then you-ask there me palm-stem-with-a-few-nuts*  
*bê klê là tí bê ɣylǝ mù mǝ*  
*you-must you-come-here-near I-must insert-with- you-go penis*  
*boring-motion*

*When I come from the sea, you ask of me a fish;*  
*When I come from the palm grove, you ask a bunch of palm-nuts;*  
*Come to me that I may have connection with you.*

This saying is only used in the case of a woman who is always asking for favors from a man. It would be his way of refusing her what she asked, and is not, as might be inferred, a request for her favors in return.

68. *Tē yí nyé tiē gbwe dyě né fà kà*  
*trouble if person-half little see then worse.*

*When trouble sees a little man it gets worse.*

The meaning of this proverb is similar to that of No. 21, except that this saying refers actually to a small person.-It would be



used when one is going to fight with another person, and means that it is easier to get angry at a little man than at a big one.

69. *krǎo na ně kwíε dju nē sá tū gbwê gboreí*  
Kru say that orphan-child not take bit-tree from-stump

*The Kru say, "The orphan does not take the log from its stump."*

That is, because he has no home to which to bring it. The proverb is used to warn an orphan to be careful of his behavior since, if he gets into trouble, no one will look after him as a parent looks after his child. The orphan will not entirely be without protection, for he is a *pq tɔ dju*, a child of the sib, and his relatives of the *pq tɔ* to which he belongs will care for him if the trouble is serious. But this will be done more or less grudgingly, and if someone becomes angry at the trouble he is causing, he may kill the orphan by witchcraft, or poison him. If the orphan's parents were living, it was explained, one might argue "Perhaps he will get better, his parents will open their eyes," and this, coupled with the fear of the father's vengeance, would act as a deterrent to prevent his killing the child. But the orphan would be without this protection, and therefore needs to be careful.

70. *ni kpá mó kpá kpà ne Tō nǐ sọ gbwê kè*  
water take-me take-take then drop-water-foetid-little too

*"The water keeps on taking me; do you want to also, Little-Foetid-Drop-of-Water?"*

This character has already appeared in No. 7, and means a person beneath contempt. Women especially use this saying, as "women quarrel so much." The use of *ni* is a play on words. The meaning is that because I have done something wrong about which I am generally reproached, do you (the person addressed) also presume to judge me? The use of the saying is an insult and will bring on trouble.

71. *ta ně mε mε nia klé na à'kpà wrè wrè*  
place there death live there-we we-take long-life-long-life

*Where death lives, there we take long life.*

This proverb is used by the Kru to urge a person to do a dangerous deed. Human dignity, the explanation given said, demands daring. It is something like our "Nothing venture, nothing gain," in its extended meaning.

72. *Bo tǒ wia krǒ nyenǒ wrǒ kò nyò kɛ krǒ nē lě*  
 Botǒ wia krǒ women twenty had-person but wash not there  
*Botǒ wia krǒ had twenty wives but never took a bath.*

This is a character in Kru mythology. He was remiss in seeing that his wives did their work, so that each would turn to the other when something was asked of her by her husband. In the end, altho he had twenty wives to bring him water, he never took a bath because each thought that it was the duty of the next wife to bring it, and the task was never done. The proverb is said only to women who do not do their work for their husbands.

73. *dji na nē dɛ ya ki tiē nē mǒ di di dē nǒ*  
 Tiger say that thing something-running then it eat-eat thing is  
*Tiger says, "That which is running is that which I eat."*

"Tiger" speaks because the animal the Kru call by that name, will not eat anything that appears to be dead. The Kru say that the Tiger thinks that there is no life in a motionless body, and hence it refuses to touch it. The saying is, therefore, a statement of fact and is used in hunting. In everyday intercourse, however, it is used to designate a man who shuns people, and the reasoning is, that if he "runs" he must have something to hide, and is therefore to be watched and, if possible, detected.

74. *krǒ na nē Tǒ nē kpǒ kǐ ɔ nē wrǔ*  
 Kru say that war when catch slave he not speak  
*The Kru say, "The captive slave does not speak."*

The Kru, in common with other West African peoples, enslaved their prisoners of war, and often the vanquished chieftain became a menial. The implication of this proverb to the Kru, however, is that a man in an inferior position does well to be silent in the presence of his superiors.

75. *blé Tǒ na nē Tǒ nē kpǒ bleɔ ɔ nē blé*  
 sing-bird say that war when catch sing-he he not sing  
*The blé Tǒ says, "The singer does not sing when he is a prisoner of war."*

This bird, described as blue with a white collar and red on its tail, lives near the habitations of the Kru and eats palm-nuts and "other good food." He is noted for his song, but will not sing if caught. The Kru like to hear him, and the children

are taught not to molest the bird, which thus becomes quite tame. The meaning of the saying is essentially the same as the preceding proverb, being recast to fit the case of the bird who speaks this saying.

76. *wra wrê nyenê ny nê ɔ kwă Tê*  
adultery woman make it her-relatives shame

*The woman who commits adultery brings shame on her relatives.*

The *kwa* is composed of persons descended in the male line, and is the basic group of the Kru. They may live in one or more "quarters" (*pə tɔ*) which have been mentioned above in No. 53 and No. 69. The saying has no other meaning than the one contained in the simple statement, and it is used to warn children to be careful of their sexual contacts.

77. *krăo na nê ta nê nâ nâ tɛnă gwô kô nê*  
Kru say that place that say drink oil mouth for and  
*bwôlé sũɛ gwô Ti*  
last poor mouth (sentence-completion)

*The Kru say, "Where you have drunk oil, you will drink poverty."*

Oil refers to palm-oil, a delicacy of the Kru, and the phrase "to drink oil" means to live luxuriously. The proverb is used to warn a man who is spending his money foolishly, and conveys the admonition that one must care for one's possessions. It does not refer to the man who is giving away what he has, — to be of the type meant by the proverb, one must be spending one's money and not getting anything for it.

78. *klă yî kpa nê â·dî klă dɛ dyrô pâ yî kpa nê*  
winter if come then we-eat winter-thing summer if come then  
*â·dî dyrô pâ dɛ*  
we-eat summer-thing

*In winter we eat the food of winter, in summer the food of summer.*

This might be used literally to a person who complained of the food available during the winter-time, (i. e., the wet season) which is disagreeable and during which it is difficult to get fresh food. It is also used when a person changes his opinion or his tastes and is reproached for it, — this would be his justification. It would also apply to a case where a man had taken a new wife. The generalized significance of "Everything according to its proper season," is also recognized by the Kru.



79. *po lě nyeně nǎ mǔ nē sǔ pǝ*  
 put faeces I-am-going that pestle put

*If you put faeces before me, I shall splatter them over you with my pestle.*

The proverb refers to vituperation. If two are in a quarrel, and one of the parties to it hurls scandalous epithets at the other and the other's family, then this proverb may be spoken by the one whose family skeleton is bared, and the meaning is, "Take care, for presently I shall be repaying you in kind, and you shall be the worse for it."

80. *krǎo na ně dε ně la ne bε djù ε kq nyeně*  
 Kru say that thing that kill man it-has name

*The Kru say, "Whatever kills a man has a name."*

This proverb is used by a man to indicate that he is reckless, and would be said when he was being urged to caution. That is, there are so many causes that can kill a person that a man can afford to chance one of them. It is somewhat like our "You can only die once," but with the additional feeling that what one dies for must "have a name," i. e., be known. It is to be compared to No. 71.

81. *bo lé na ně nē dyí pō nyq nō mε Tè*  
 Bolé say that I-knowing myself die-trouble

*Bolé says, "I know the trouble that kills me."*

*Bolé* speaks because, being a deer-like animal of incredible speed in running, he likes to go where people are, even tho he "knows" it may mean his death. He does this, the Kru believe, to prove to the hunter that he can run so fast that he can get away from man's weapons. The use of the saying is to indicate that a man who has seemed to be a friend of the person speaking has deserted the speaker in time of need, — that is, the supposed friend is the "trouble" which the speaker "knows."

82. *dyě Tē wri nē si Tē gbwé sè yǝ*  
 to-see trouble to-say that not trouble (little-meddler)  
 tale-bearer

*To tell a thing really seen (to the court) is not gossiping.*

"Tale-bearer" as used here has the meaning of a person who repeats gossip to the person gossiped about with the intent to stir up trouble. A person who testifies in court to what he has actually witnessed is not to be thought of as coming under this category. The saying is itself used in court when a witness

starts his testimony, or afterwards when he is asked questions about what he knows regarding the matter in court, to indicate that he is merely testifying what he has seen, and not repeating gossip out of malice to the accused.

83. *nà gbwà si tu túé l̀kp̄ n̄ si gbwà f̄ ̀nyenè kp̄*  
my-wrestle not urger-have then not wrestle-fight name-have

*He who lacks an urger does not win the wrestling bout.*

"To have a name" signifies to be a winner. The proverb is used for a man who has failed in something, and saying this to him is meant to encourage him to try again. It would also be said to a person who is not succeeding in what he is doing, in the nature of urging him not to give up.

84. *krá̄o na n̄ m̄ ta tú ɔ né à kp̄ na ké*  
Kru say that you torch he-is we-catch with crab

*The Kru say, "By the light of your torch we catch the crab."*

The method of crab-hunting has already been explained; it sometimes is done at night. The word *ta tú*, "torch," is a figure of speech for "leader." The meaning of the proverb, therefore, is that the person addressed gives the means by which we carry on, or, as it was paraphrased, "You are the light that leads us on our way." The saying is one of praise, either addressed to an important person or said of him.

85. *krá̄o na n̄ n̄ s̄ k̄ m̄ br̄ n̄ d̄ d̄u gbwé*  
Kru say that I never person beat and call child-little

*The Kru say, "Do not call the person you have not whipped a little child."*

That is, you must not criticise a person unless you are sure that you can do better than he does. The saying applies essentially to someone who is of the same age as the speaker, and is actually used to apply to contests. The examples of its use given were those in which two men were racing on the river, or fighting or wrestling, and prior to the match one boasted of being able to win over the other. This proverb would then be spoken, either by the other party to the contest or by the spectators.

86. *dué dué bú na n̄ mr̄ mr̄ si ̀nyé kp̄ la kp̄*  
Duéduébù say that keep-on-swallowing not persons big have

*Duéduébù says "Big people do not always swallow (big portions)."*

*Duéduébù* is a little fish that often takes the fisherman's large bait, meant for a larger fish. The proverb, which may also be

regarded as "Big bait doesn't always catch big fish" refers only to size. It would be used in eating, in fishing, and in marriage, where, for example, a large woman married a man smaller than herself.

87. *Mu nǎ nímlè nyé dyèi kpó brá tcuwe ɣwó tcuwe*  
 Muna nímlè son-of finger thumb against cotton-tree press cotton-tree  
*nɔ pólái sǎ Tē sé mɔ dyé dyē ì nyɔ nǎ*  
 make-split two trouble not you approach had-approached yourself  
*Munǎ the son of Nímlè presses his thumb against the cotton-tree and*  
*splits it in two; you look for trouble that does not concern you.*

*Munǎ* represents the strong man, whose strength gives him the right to do as he wishes. The reference to the cotton-tree (the silk-cotton common in the tropics) has to do with the fact that this tree is the largest in the forest. It is the place of sacrifice of prisoners of war, and underneath its branches a prisoner is burned when the campaign is going against the Kru. In such a case, the general orders one of the attendants of the court to prepare a prisoner by rubbing him with oil. A fence is built close about the trunk of the tree, and outside it a huge fire is built. When this is burning well, the prisoner is thrown into the flames. His ashes are mixed with oil, and the trunk of the tree is rubbed all around, as high as the men can reach, with the mixture, into which the spirit of the burned man has entered. The spirit is not thought to help with the warfare; the purpose, as explained, is to frighten the enemy. But since a human was sacrificed at the spot, the tree and its immediate vicinity is more or less taboo to the Kru. No one would think of cutting down the tree, for if he did, then his community would be plagued by the spirit, — an epidemic might break out, or a great number of accidents occur. In this case, a bullock would be sacrificed to the trunk of the tree. The throat would be cut, and the blood allowed to run into the ground and become thoroughly absorbed. Then a fire would be kindled and the body of the animal burned; this is held to pacify the spirit. Other than this, no offerings would be given the tree. The proverb itself is used to a person, who, as the third party to a dispute interferes in it. The inference is "Are you so strong that you are looking for trouble like *Munǎ*?"

88. *kō pě na ně ta ná mwu yě ka klé nē pō pō lǝkpa mǎ*  
 big-wood- say that place I-was-going-where there is wind take me  
 pecker

*Kōpě* says, "My destination is where the wind takes me."



*Kōpě* is a large bird, the description of whose habits of feeding suggests a resemblance to our wood-pecker, i. e., he feeds on worms in the bark of trees. He is very light, however, and thus this proverb is given him to pronounce, for he cannot make headway against a strong wind. So *Kōpě* always flies with the wind. Reference here is to the man who allows circumstances to rule his life. It is to be noted that no element of reproach is implied. It has the added connotation that it makes no difference where one goes as long as one gets what one wants.

89. *mó nāmù ka ló pòká ló ð·wra kpō kpò slē fuē nē*  
 I am beetle of-beetle he-caused toad wart skin and  
*ð· ma ya frō bwè dyó gyā ð· wra djru plī tū.*  
 he-made- Frōbwè tree palm he-caused children young mortar  
 burden-  
 heavy

*I am that Beetle of all Beetles, who caused the toad to have warts on its skin, who put the burden of palm-tree on Frōbwè, and who ground the young children in the mortar.*

This saying is used, when a group is discussing a crime recently committed, to suggest that eventually the wrong-doer will confess his guilt. To understand it, reference must be made once more to the trial by ordeal, the drinking of the sasswood. If a person is guilty, he will die; certainly if he has confessed. It sometimes happens that one who has done good things for his people has also committed a crime for which the penalty is death. He has confessed his deeds and is ready to pay the penalty. Especially if he be a warrior, he may at this time request the man who calls the war-names of the warriors, the drummers, and the women who sing the praise of the brave to come as he sits before the bowl of poison. They then recount his deeds of bravery and the good that he has done, and when they have finished, he tells the assembled people of his bad deeds, and drinks the poison. This is what Beetle did, and this is what everyone who does evil will eventually do, according to the Kru belief. Compare this saying with No. 124.

90. *krāo na nē gyenō sí blī gyp nē pōō nē*  
 Kru say that women not cow person that raise not

*The Kru say, "A woman is not a cow, that she can be kept forever."*

That is, that she can be kept without allowing her to marry when she wishes to get married. The saying is applied to a man who loves his daughter so much that he will not consent to her marriage.

91. *gbwe tɛ tɔ̃ na nɛ̃ mĩɛ dyá fɔ̃ nɛ̃ fɔ̃ tɔ̃*  
 little bat say that companion if fight then fight-anxious  
*nu mɔ̃*  
 make you

*Little Bat says, "If your friend fights, you desire also to fight."*

The word "fight" as used here is the equivalent of "having possessions." In other words, the fact that your friend has possessions makes you want to acquire them, and stimulates you to exertion. "Bat" is used because he never has a home of his own, and lives in the dwellings of others, either using birds' nests or living in human habitations. The fact is accounted for by the tale of the manner in which the Bat lost his own dwelling-place.

92. *T'ũ nà nyé sɛná wrũ nà krɔ̃ be i kpɔ̃*  
 keep your-young-girl watch your world make interest  
 (-time)

*Watch your behavior when you are a young girl, and the world will retain its interest in you.*

This is an admonition given to children to be careful of their sexual behavior before marriage. It is thought reprehensible among the Kru for a young girl to have had sexual relations, and she becomes an object of scorn in her community, and an outcast, as is seen by consulting the explanation of the following proverb.

93. *ã siɔ̃ dyi pō*  
 we-not-her know  
*nyenɔ̃ dju gbwé siɔ̃ dá le wĩ ɔ̃ ɔ̃ ku tiẽ*  
 woman-child-little left cloth (dress) road she-ran

*ã siɔ̃ dyi pō*  
 we-not-her know  
*nyenɔ̃ dju gbwé siɔ̃ dá le wĩ ɔ̃ ɔ̃ ku tiẽ*  
 woman-child-little left cloth (dress) road she-ran

*ã siɔ̃ dyi pō*  
 we-not-her know  
*ɔ̃ nyá nɔ̃ kɔ̃ kɔ̃ nyɛ pɔ̃ dyɔ̃ nyɛnɛ̃ krɔ̃ bo*  
 she herself have-have relatives bring name public to

*We do not know her,  
 The little girl who left her dress in the road and ran;  
 We do not know her,  
 The little girl who left her dress in the road and ran;  
 We do not know her;  
 Her own relatives will bring her name before the people.*

These verses constitute a song as well as a saying, and are the end of a story of a young girl who had illicit sexual relations with a young man, was caught by the "police" but succeeded in running away, and was finally identified by means of her clothes which she had left behind in her haste, and thus held up to shame. The preceding saying, No. 92, explains why this would result. The "police" who caught her, it was explained, (and the point was stressed that it was these who had found out her misdeed) were the members of the *fɔ wá*, a secret society, the members of which have the right to arrest persons violating general laws. They levy fines on such persons, and keep the fines for their trouble. This is the first mention of these societies which has been encountered thus far in the proverbs. Such societies are numerous among the Kru and perform various functions. The point of this song, which is sometimes used apart from the story of which it is the ending, and which may be spoken, is that the person who does wrong will eventually get caught. The song is as follows:

SONG TO PROVERB 93.<sup>1</sup>)

quasi-parlando: ♩ = cca. 184

á· siò dyi pō nyɛ-ne dju gbwe si ɔ

dá leo wíó tiè á· siò dyi pō

nyɛ-ne dju(gbwe) si ɔ dá le ɔ wíó tiè

á· siò dyi pō ɔ nyá nɔ kɔ kɔ nyɛ pò(-a)

dyo nyɛ-ne kro bo (?) da w-re wɔ-nyɛ

<sup>1</sup> This transcription, and that to No. 122, were the only ones recorded before Mr. Ta'gbwe's death. They were transcribed by Mr. George Herzog, to whom I wish to express my appreciation. M. J. H.



94. *nyɔ kɔ T'ɛ̃ nɛ ɔ kɔ T'ɛ̃ gbwé sɛ̃*  
 person have trouble and he-has trouble little lie.

*When a person is in trouble, a little lie will make more trouble for him.*

This saying is used by a man in court, when, his testimony challenged, he protests that he is telling the truth; or it may be used by him voluntarily at the beginning of his testimony. It is also used outside the court, in ordinary conversation, to emphasize the fact that a statement that has been made is true.

95. *djú gbwé nɛ mǔɛ ble T'ɛ̃ nɛ núɛ nɛ*  
 face that going country shame not make he  
 (i. e., person)

*A man is not ashamed when he returns home.*

That is, a man who leaves home of his own volition and for his own purposes, is not accountable to his people no matter what has happened to him while he was away, and whether he accomplished his purpose or not. This would be the meaning when the proverb was said by a wanderer on his return to his home, if he were reproached by his people for not having achieved what they assumed he would achieve, but which he had not promised them. Another meaning is that a man need not feel ashamed to return to his own people, whether he has fared well in his wanderings or not, or even if he has been guilty of wrong doing.

96. *Tɔ̃ yi krò dye nɛ ɛ̃ fɔ̃*  
 war if city see them it-rest

*When the war reaches a city, it rests.*

The saying is based on the fact that in warfare, when the attackers reach a city which is fortified against them, the good general will survey his ground before pressing on. It is used as an admonition to weigh matters before venturing.

97. *su ru fuɛ nɛɔ ɔ nɛ pɔ̃ s'ɛ̃*  
 dirty skin with-he he-not make particular

*The dirty person is not fastidious.*

Said to a person who is not very clean.

98. *djri ú nɛ wɔ̃ wa le kwáí*  
 thieves not tell-on-one-another behind

*Thieves do not tell on each other.*

This expression would be used by a person plotting some evil deed with another, to reassure him that he might be trusted,

the Kru, apparently, holding that there is honor among thieves.

99. *tu o dju gbwé bə yǒ mǝ tǝ*  
honor child-little he you you honor

*Honor the little child, and he will respect you.*

This admonition would be spoken by one older person to another who always plays clownishly with a child and never gives the young one a chance to be serious with him. If this is done, the child will respond in the same fashion, and the person will never really get to know what the child is thinking or what sort of an individual he actually is.

100. *kplɛ dya sɛɛ*  
argument bring trouble

*Argument brings trouble.*

That is, because it may result in a fight with serious consequences. This is spoken when a person tries to pacify two people who are disputing hotly.

101. *tɪ na nyǝ ɔ tǝ dɛ dɪ dɛ wrǝ*  
time walk person he-watch thing eat eating careful

*A person is careful in eating when he is away from home.*

This is used to admonish someone to watch his manners, and also points out the fact that one must be more careful among strangers than when he is among his own people.

102. *dju gbwé bɛ nɛ nɛ yɪ dyō sɛ*  
people are equal then if woman's rub  
-perfume

*Those who rub dyō on their skins are equals.*

The perfume referred to, *dyō*, is much prized by women, and is made by carefully drying the part of the tree which gives it. In general, this perfume is not used by men, altho in a situation such as was described in No. 40, the girls might rub it on the man they were favoring. There are two meanings to the saying. Since people with the same means can dress equally well (that is, can rub *dyō* on their skins), it follows that they can be friends, for true friendships cannot hold together inferior and superior. In the second place, it follows the meaning of the need of care when addressing elders, i. e., people endowed with more wisdom.

103. *wie mwq nê kê sǝ dyé po wrò ti*  
road-twin that meet two see stop-heart (end of sentence)

*When one comes to a fork of the road, one stops to consider the way.*

*Wie mwq* is the phrase used for two roads which branch off from another, both continuing in the same general direction. This is meant to convey (a) the need to consider when facing a choice, and (b) the injunction that when a choice has been made, it is to be followed.

104. *sá dyi nê Ta dyî sǝ nê dji djε lè*  
Sádyi and Tadyî two are meeting  
*Sádyi and Tadyî have met.*

This is used to explain a long enmity which has finally been brought to a head. It is based on the story of these men, each of whom was very strong, and each of whom threatened to worst the other. In other words, two enemies who have watched each other for a long time have finally come together to settle their quarrel, and the saying asks the question, "What will the outcome be?" For, according to this explanation, only the person concerned knows what he will do, and the others must wait until his plans are shown by the result.

105. *ke Pǝ na nê dε wrê le núō nê ê ne tǝǝ*  
catfish say that thing stay long there water and it-is richness

*Catfish says, "That which stays in the water a long time (before taking the bait) is the rich one."*

Catfish only takes the bait when it has been in the water a long time. The saying carries the meaning that any girl who is worth having takes a long time to win. It is applied only to a woman for whom a man waits; either to have sex relations with her, or, in the case of betrothal to a young girl, waits for her to grow up ("to get richness") so that she may marry him.

106. *Ta nê sé lí tō a dyêi klí nê bō gyni to*  
where that Sélí point finger there is must reach war

*Where Sélí points his finger, there will the war be.*

*Sélí* was a man living in the time of the informant. He was a "doctor" who foretold fortunes of war, this being one type of doctor among the Kru. Other kinds are those who are fortune-tellers; doctors of magic (performers who can put knives thru their flesh without drawing blood); doctors who cure people;



as well as such sinister types as those who deal in poison and witchcraft. The meaning of the proverb is that a wise man knows whereof he speaks, and therefore deserves obedience.

107. *pō pò nye nǝ dyóá mǝ tá lo dyi mǝ djé dyò nyi nyǝ nyǝ*  
*Pōpò wife Dyóá mǝ tálo come-me see now give person person*  
*nǝ nyǝ*  
*not person*

"*Dyóá mǝ tálo, Pōpò's wife, has come to visit me; let all give.*" But no one gave.

This saying is based on the story concerning *Pōpò* (chicken-hawk) and *Mēmá* (black-hawk). These two individuals were very wealthy, and each lived in a different district. Each would inquire about the other from travelers, and would hear how rich the other was. *Mēmá*, however, gave away a great deal to the other birds in his district when they were in need, until, altho he had much owing him, he had little wealth on hand. Finally, *Pōpò* sent his wife to visit *Mēmá*, and she brought gifts, as is the custom. She was received as befitted her rank, with feasting and the firing of guns, and when it was time for her to return to her husband, *Mēmá* sent about to the birds to whom he had given when they needed his aid, to gather presents for *Pōpò's* wife as befitted her station. But the birds failed him, and, as a result, he was humiliated and stood convicted of having boasted of more than he could do. And this is what gives point to the saying, which for the Kru, has the meaning, "One should not try to assume a popularity to which one is not entitled." This is sung as well as spoken.

108. *dú gbwé mui é ki plo ki plo dú gbwé*  
*Dúgbwé went-with slave-sell slave-sell Dúgbwé*  
*the inten-*  
*tion of doing*

*Dúgbwé took his slave to sell; but the slave sold Dúgbwé.*

This is also based on a story;—that of *Dúgbwé*, a very ugly man, who took his very handsome slave to market to sell him. But because the slave looked so much more personable than his owner, the traders believed him when he said he owned *Dúgbwé*, and thus he became the master, while the master became the slave. The proverb deals with ability, it was explained, and admonishes one not to try to do something one is not qualified to do. The words are also sung, and would be used in this form, for instance, by the doctors if one of their

number tried to perform some feat for which he had not been trained or for which he did not have the necessary qualifications.

109. *kráo na ně nyenó duè kókwe ɛ̀tù nyó sùè*  
 Kru say that woman one marriage it-cause person trouble  
 (poor)

*The Kru say, "Marriage to one woman makes a man poor."*

Polygyny is regarded by the Kru as being highly desirable. "Kru women are big-headed," it was explained, and therefore, if a man has only one wife, his parents do not believe that he can be really happy, even though he may be getting along well enough. Their feeling is that if he has only one wife and asks her to do something, she may say, "*dèò mọ́ dju ná*," "Get away from me," and there is nothing he can do about it. But if he has two wives, he can tell the next one, who will do it, and then the first wife will reflect that she had better do the things he asks of her, or, perhaps, he will send her away. The proverb would be used when a man's wife does not behave well, by those who think he should get another wife; and it would also be said by a man to his recalcitrant wife as a warning. It is in the nature of our proverb having to do with the advantage of having two strings to one's bow.

110. *bá bē tclq kà na ně nyó ně kpá lō mīè dya wrò*  
 "pepper-eating-bird" say that person not trust companion pot heart  
*The pepper-eating bird says, "A person should not rely on his companion's cooking-pot."*

The bird referred to, in whose mouth the saying is placed, is one that raids the pepper-fields of the Kru, and eats pepper, something that no other bird desires. Hence, we have a symbol for independence and self-reliance, and since no other bird eats his kind of food, his food will not feed anyone but himself. The meaning of this saying is, therefore, not to rely on even your closest friend for food to feed your children, for what is in his cooking-pot is not the same as what is in your own. It is a lesson in self-reliance; "do not depend on anyone but yourself."

111. *dē tce pē pí nyénò ɔ djrú nē lō*  
 thing little cooking woman her children not have-enough

*The children of the woman who cooks little do not have enough to eat.*

This saying is used to characterize a woman whom one does not like, and it might be used in a woman's quarrel. As the explana-

tion given ran: "We tell the character of a woman by what she cooks. If she is noble, when she cooks she cooks plenty to satisfy her children and even more, and she is a fine woman, and her parents were good people, and brought her up that good way. But a woman who cooks very little, we call her a narrow-minded woman because she does not have the nobility to satisfy her family, — she's small in her character."

112. *tì na dju gbwè nē dyě T·ê tâ*  
time walk child-little not see trouble place

*The boy who runs about is never home when trouble happens there.*

A boy who never stays at home and therefore misses his meals and causes extra trouble would have this saying hurled at him; in the sense of the proverb, home is where a person should be if trouble threatens. However, in its extended meaning, it might mean that one should pay attention to what is said, and also that one should not be "flighty" in one's thinking.

113. *mě má nâ pò pò sǎ mu ǒ ba í pò ké si nâ ε*  
Mémá and Pòpò two going friend(-ship) but not walk-it  
*se sá lē yí*  
separately.

*Mémá and Pòpò were friends, but now each goes his own way.*

The story on which this saying is based, and the characters themselves, are discussed under No. 107. This saying given above is merely a way of stating that two persons who were once friends are so no longer.

114. *gyɔ nē dǎ gbwé ɔ nē bló nē*  
person not call dog he him beat not

*One does not call his dog (in a friendly manner) in order to beat him.*

That is, "The manner in which one speaks should indicate his attitude." There are two uses of this proverb; one, in which it indicates distrust of a person, and the other where it points the lesson "be polite."

115. *fǎ kǎ na nē kpwa kpwe nē mō wrè wrè*  
billy-goat say that dwarf-little that is old-old  
(long-long)

*Billy-goat says, "He who is little lives the longest."*

The reason this proverb is placed in the mouth of billy-goat is that while the large female goats are killed and eaten, the



smaller males are allowed to live. In its meaning, this saying is related to No. 56; the longer one lives, the wiser he becomes.

116. *djǝró na ně m'ó nyε fũε nò yí na dɛ kpwa ně nyɔ*  
 sea say that I persons-great am if say thing take not person  
*ně dyíε nē*  
 him see not

*The Sea says, "I am a great man; when I take something, no one ever sees it again."*

The Kru believe that if a person is drowned in a river and the body floats down to the sea, Sea will return the body to the shore. But if someone has died in the ocean, Sea will never return the body. Therefore, if a body is found on the shore, it is accepted as proof that the person did not drown at sea. The saying itself, therefore, means that one who "does big things and has a big mind" cannot be responsible for the small acts of others.

117. *kwa ble y'ó mɔ pǝ; nyɔ klé ε dyi wé lǝ*  
 hand hold-if you rich person there it come-to-the-end

*He who holds on to his possessions will one day be a rich man.*

The meaning of the saying is obvious; as used by the Kru, it would constitute an admonition, given by a relative or friend to one who is spending too freely.

118. *kwíε dju ně kǝ ně y nǝ ně kwíε nē kpwòɔ nē*  
 state-of- child not grow and they-say that state-of- then catch him  
 being-an- being-an-  
 orphan orphan

*When the orphan does not grow, it is because his orphanhood has overcome him.*

An orphan, at the death of his parents, may be adopted by distant relatives. After about a month, his head is shaved and then washed. The water that has been used for this purpose is then thrown on the roof of the house of the people who have adopted him, and he stands under the eaves and is told to hold his mouth open. The water drips into it. "Swallow," he is told, and he swallows it. Having done this he can grow as a normal child, as the *kwíε*, "the state of being an orphan" will not now have power over him to keep him small, — it has been washed away. The *kwíε*, it was explained, is "the sense of living alone, having no protection, having no good food, so you worry when your parents die" and thus do not grow as you

should. Once water has been drunk in this fashion, the Kru believe that the orphan forgets all this, and consequently, is free to develop. The sense of the proverb is that things will not flourish where care (the ceremonial, in this instance) has not been taken.

119. *krǎo* *na* *ně* *dε* *ně* *blě bo* *na* *nyɔ* *dýíá*  
 Kru say that thing that territory-with walk-person saw  
 (i. e., traveler)  
*wrě-* *yð* *siε* *dye ě*  
 old (superlative not-it see  
 ending)

*The Kru say, "The traveler sees more than the oldest person (who stays at home all his life)."*

This saying as used by the Kru, may be interpreted in two ways. It may mean that one must experience something before he is entitled to have an opinion concerning it, or it may mean that it is not always the oldest man who is the wisest. It would be used in the proper connection to point the lesson to someone who was too ready in expressing an opinion.

120. *s·ð* *na* *ně* *m·p'* *nē* *lée* *kε* *ná* *kpɔ* *ní*  
 chicken say that I-am not wash but my tasty water

*Chicken says, "I do not wash, but my water tastes good."*

That is, if a woman is not good-looking, she should behave all the better and be all the more pleasant in order to overcome her handicap, since a good-looking, pleasant person is tolerated even if she acts badly. The meaning is extended so as to apply to either men or women, and this is to the effect that one who has numerous possessions may do with impunity that for which the person without belongings would be punished.

121. *nyenɔ* *yí* *dye* *nyeni* *ně* *o* *Ba* *dε* *n̂*  
 woman if ugly-woman then her-pepper thing smooth

*The ugly woman's pepper is ground fine.*

This saying carries a meaning complementary to the preceding one; i. e., the ugly woman has to work harder because of her appearance, and hence does her work better. The same extension of meaning noted in No. 120 also applies to this proverb.

122. (A) *à·mɔ* *nē* *klû* *Bá tú* *klû klû*  
 we-are (and) running-in- Bá Tú running-fast-in-pursuit-of  
 (that) pursuit-of

ɥ si Bá tũ dyɛ  
they not Bá tũ reach

ɥ mɔ Bá tũ dyé mɔ  
they go Bá tũ reach are

ɥ dyɛ lè Bá tũ dɔ wri pɔ  
they(-expected-to)-reach there Bá tũ Dɔwripɔ

to kpwá lá kpwá la  
the long-time long-time

(B) he! nyene mɔ o dya gba o  
he! woman wise-o bring-front-o

he! he! he!  
he! he! he!

nyene mɔ o dya gba o he!  
women wise-o bring-front-o he!

(C) grɛɛ de ke grɛɛ ti  
grɛɛ grɛɛ grɛɛ grɛɛ ti

(A) *We are running in pursuit of Bá tũ, running fast in pursuit;  
They did not get to Bâtũ,  
They were going to get Bâtũ,  
They expected us to find Bá tũ in Dɔwripɔ,  
Long, long ago.*

(B) *He! The wise women, O! Hail!  
He! He! He!  
The wise women, O! Hail! He!*

Only (A) above is used as a proverb, but the whole text is the song of the wise old women's society, and relates the founding of their society. The story is only told, and the song sung, when one of the members dies, or when the first or the new harvest is brought in. (A) is sung by a soloist, (B) is the refrain of the chorus, and (C) is the representation of the rhythm of the drum which accompanies (B). The reference is to *Bá tũ*, a bad man who ran away to the city of mythological origin of the Kru, *Dɔwripɔ*, and after whom this group of women was sent. Not wishing to harm him, they did not go to *Dɔwripɔ*, but came back singing this song, and, in their pact, the old women's society was formed. In proverb form, it would indicate that someone is a fugitive from his community and has not been caught. The saying, as sung, follows:<sup>1</sup>



## SONG TO PROVERB 122.

♩ = cca 176 Solo:

à mō nē klû Bá tû klû klû Bá t(ú) dyε ɪmɑ

Bá t(ú) dyém dyε lè Bá tû dɔ wri pò

Chorus:

to kpwá-la kpwá-la ho ɲgye-ne mɑ e dya gba e

Drum:

grɛɛ grɛɛ grɛɛ grɛɛ

e ɲgye-ne mɑ e ɲgye-ne mɑ e - - e

grɛɛ dɛ kɛ grɛɛ grɛɛ grɛɛ

e ɲgye-ne mɑ e ɲgye-ne mɑ e

grɛɛ grɛɛ grɛɛ grɛɛ

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the drum was not actually played, but was represented by Ta'gbwe's singing. The representation, which is separate from the song on the phonograph record, is here inserted in accordance with Ta'gbwe's directions.

123. ɔ na nẽ ɣɣɔ tũ<sup>1</sup>) wré dé dé dyō  
 she say that person-what-sort-of make-sound-thing thing noisy
- ɔ na mǝ ɣylẽ<sup>2</sup>) ɣylẽ pǎ gbwe<sup>3</sup>) nuó  
 she say I-am woman woman old-little being
- ɔ na ɣylé ɣylé pǎ gbwè ò<sup>4</sup>)  
 she say woman woman old-little-o
- yi pǎ mǐ<sup>5</sup>) dyě ò yi pǎ nǐ<sup>6</sup>) dyě ò  
 if old-father see-o if old-mother see-o
- bó nǐ blò dé ò bó nǐ mǎ dé ò  
 let make clay-thing-o let make offering-thing-o
- bè yǐ nǐ ká ò bè yǐ (h)nɛ dyraǝ  
 so if water dip-o so if fire(-wood) cut-o
- ná yi pǎ gbwè kǎ  
 my if old little marry (have)

*The young girl said,*

*"Who is this making a noise?"*

*The old woman said,*

*"A little old woman."*

*The young girl said,*

*"Little old woman, O!*

*If you see my old father, O!*

*If you see my old mother, O!*

*Let them make things of white clay, O!*

*Let them make things for offerings, O!*

*So I might dip water for them to drink, O!*

*So I might cut wood for their fire, O!*

*Then will I marry that little old man!"*

This is, apparently, a very old song, used as a proverb, its age apparent when the linguistic anachronisms are considered. These are:

1. ɣɣɔ tũ, for ɣɣɔkrō, "what sort of person." The archaic form, used today, would constitute an insult.
2. ɣylẽ, "woman" pronounced almost ɣyne, is archaic for ɣyenǝ.
3. pǎ gbwè, "old-little" would, in its present-day form, be kpwá ká gbwè.
4. The final "ò" in these forms is used by the Kru when they want their words to carry as they shout them from a distance.
5. pǎ mǐ, "old father" is poetic for the simple "mǐ" in use in daily speech.
6. nǐ, "mother" is the form of "dǐ" used by a girl, the other form usually being employed by a male child.

The song is that sung by a young girl, who, having been compelled to marry an old man whom she did not love, had died and been buried. The old woman to whom it is addressed, as the story goes, was gathering wood one day in the forest when she heard these words coming from the grave of the girl. Her parents had grieved so hard since her death, that she gives instructions to the old woman how she should be brought back to life, and promises, if restored to them, to do as they wish and not cause them further grief. Used as a proverb, the meaning is that a person should not force a child to do something he does not wish to do, or the child may die. It is thus essentially a moral for harsh parents.

124. *To sa dyê na nê mó là sa kǝ lá lá mǝ là to pǝ*  
 Tosadye say that I (who) kill Sakǝ- kill-kill I (who) kill Topǝ  
 tribe- of-birds bird-  
 tribe

la là      ta    nu ɣmwɛ gbwe    dɛ là ɛ̃ yi mǎ kəkə̃ ɣynǎ    prrrɪ̃  
kill-kill    where    bird    little    came    it-if-me    pinch    pierce    flight-of  
bird

m' nuymwɛ sɔ̌ mɔ nu ɣmwɛ  
 me bird shoo-away me bird

*Tosadyê says, "It is I who completely killed the Sakš bird-tribe,  
I who completely killed the Topš bird-tribe.  
Whence comes the little bird to peck at me and pierce  
me through?  
Let that little bird take to flight  
Let it be driven off from me."*

*Tosadyê*, a bird somewhat smaller than a sparrow, was the king of the birds during the early mythological times, according to the Kru. Altho he was very hard on his subjects, he was, apparently, a clever diplomat, for when other bird-tribes declared war on his people, he persuaded them to desist from fighting, and this without the knowledge of his subjects. In the text, "to kill" really means "to keep off." One day, when he was getting old and his kingship was about to be taken away from him, he was caught at some of his misdeeds, tried, and sentenced to die. And in the fashion described before (in No. 89) he recounts the good deeds he had done for his people. The words may be sung or spoken, and when spoken without the story prelude, are used by the head of a political group or of a family when those under him grumble at his administration. It means, therefore, "Do not forget the good things I have done for you."



125. *Tē ple yǝ ɔ nē dyě Tē tá*  
trouble tell-one he-not-see trouble present

*The gossip should not be present where there is trouble to report.*

The saying would be used by one person to tell another to whom he is talking to wait until a third person, who has the reputation of gossiping, has gone away. It might also be used by a parent to reprove a child who talked too much.

126. *mɔ dyà mɔ diɔ ně sɔ pò tá lɔ tiě mɔ dyà mɔ dyà mɔ*  
you bring you eat-did-it Sòpòtálòtiě you bring you bring you  
*diɔ ně*  
eat-did-it

*What you brought you have eaten yourself,*  
*Sòpòtálòtiě.*

*What you brought you have eaten yourself.*

This is a song at the end of the story of Sòpòtálòtiě, a man who was very stingy, and who, when he brought home a catch of fish, ate all of them himself. Spoken by itself, the song becomes a proverb used to reproach the head of a family for not providing as well as he should, and for not being sufficiently generous to those in his family. It might be used by his wife or relatives, but would never be levelled at someone outside a person's immediate family.

127. *gbwe sè dju gbwè nɔ nē nà*  
little lie-child little is he here

*The little child who tells lies is here.*

This saying carries the same meaning as No. 125; "be careful of what you say, someone is here who will repeat it to everyone." It is based on the fact that children tell everything they know.

128. *tcɔ ná nà ně s'è dyɛɔ*  
moon walk walk and day reach

*If the moon walks long enough the day will catch her.*

That is, if someone does wrong and repeats his wrong-doing enough times, he will eventually be caught. The proverb would be said at the mention of the name of a person about whom one had suspicions.

129. *kráo na ně Tē nē wá nimbe dju nyeně ɔ nē blě*  
Kru say that trouble that call man-child name he-not neglect  
*kwia*  
together

*The Kru say, "When trouble comes to a man, let him attend to it."*

This is used to rebuke someone who puts off a task that he is told to do. The idea behind it is that a person should do whatever comes his way, particularly since the outcome of any given act cannot be foreseen. That is, an unpleasant duty properly performed may bring pleasant results. The illustration given was of a boy who, told by his father to do some difficult task, said he would do it, and then put it off. He would be reproved by his mother with this phrase, the meaning being that perhaps the father had used this for a test so that he might give him greater responsibility.

130. *nɛ kɔ ɣyé pɔ kɛ dʒi bwɔ dɪ nɛ sɛ kɔ*

I-have relatives but come-here eat I-not-have

*I have relatives, but none of them feed me.*

Each cares for his own immediate relations, and has nothing for the members of his larger relationship group who may be in need. The saying is one way of indicating that there are many to sympathize with an unfortunate, but few who will do anything for him, and also to explain the fact that a man who is not doing well has no one to help him. The impossibility of success without family support is strongly reflected in this proverb, and indicates the importance of the immediate family which is so characteristic of West African cultures.

131. *gbwe tɛ tɔ na nɛ nɪ mwɛ pɔ si mɔ dʒrɛ ɛmɔ nɛ si kɔ kɔ*  
bat say that birds-all not me like at-me-is not town had

*Bat says, "I have no city, because none of the birds like me."*

To understand the proverb, one must refer to the associated story in which Bat claims that he is a bird, but is rejected by the birds as not one of them. The lesson is that you "do not force yourself upon people who do not wish to associate with you, and with whom you are not fitted to associate," and would be applied to a stranger in a town who attempted unduly to force his way into the life of the people there.

132. *ɣɔ nɔ ɣwɔ Tɛ tɪ ɔ mo Tɛ tɪ*  
person is listen trouble thoroughly he you trouble thoroughly  
*dʒrɔ ɣɔ nɔ*  
understand person is

*He who listens attentively is the one who understands.*

The meaning of this proverb is obvious, and it would be used to a child who did not pay attention while being instructed.

133. *Tō n'ó slě gbwà tiē nē*  
bush-deer not-there bier that  
*gbwa tiē frà frò mǎ ny?*  
bier empty-empty heavy person

Solo: *Bush-deer is not on the bier.*

Chorus: *But the empty bier is heavy.*

Sung by typical African chorus in response to solo, this entire saying, when spoken, is used as a proverb. *Tōn'ó*, the bush-deer, is the trickster in the Kru cycle of animal stories, corresponding to Uncle Remus' Br'er Rabbit. In this particular case, he is caught after one of his escapades, and condemned to death by the could before which he is taken. He must be killed at the city of origin, however, and he is carried there on his bier, a rectangular construction of sticks with four poles, each pole carried by a man who places it on his head. Before being bound on the bier, *Tōn'ó* tells his captors how they must tie him so that he should not escape, and, of course, has them bind him so that he can untie the cord. As they walk along therefore, he sings "*Tōn'ó* is not on the bier" meaning he can get away whenever he wishes, while they, feeling the weight on their heads, respond "But the empty bier is heavy." As they come to *Dweripò*, their destination, *Tōn'ó* jumps off the bier and regains his freedom. Spoken, the saying would poke fun at a man on whom a joke had been played, being used at the time he finds out he has been tricked.

134. *nǎ nē nǎ pò sē lí nǎ pò sēne kà sē lì*  
you say I-make-noble but make little-crab noble

*You say "I am noble," but Little Crab also says that he is noble.*

Nobility is something that must be proved by a man's actions, and does not rest on verbal claims. The saying is based on the story of a crab, who, it was explained, "was a gentleman but never took a bath in his life, for he stayed in the water all the time," and since it entailed no effort for him to keep himself washed, his cleanliness was a mark of no special effort.

- |      |                     |                     |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 135. | SOLO                | CHORUS              |
|      | <i>klí mǎ</i>       | <i>tí ní eí nīē</i> |
|      | name-of-trap catch  | time ill-wisher     |
|      | <i>klí mǎ</i>       | <i>tí ní eí nīē</i> |
|      | name-of-trap catch  | time ill-wisher     |
|      | <i>mǎ nē tǎ sô</i>  | <i>tí ní eí nīē</i> |
|      | absent salt ask-for |                     |



*nɛ krɛ ɣɣú gbwé*  
I seize human-being

*tí ní ei níɛ*

*mâ nê bá sô*  
absent pepper ask-for

*tí ní ei níɛ*

*nɛ krɛ ɣɣú gbwé*  
I seize human-being

*tí ní ei níɛ*

*klɛ mâ*  
name-of-trap catch

*tí ní ei níɛ*

*â tí tì*  
at time time

*ní ei níɛ*

*Klí has caught*

*This time he who has done you no good*

*Klí has caught*

*This time he who has done you no good*

*You are away asking for*

*salt*

*This time he who has done you no good*

*And I have caught a man*

*This time he who has done you no good*

*You are away asking for*

*pepper*

*This time he who has done you no good*

*And I have caught a man*

*This time he who has done you no good*

*Klí has caught*

*This time he who has done you no good*

*At this time*

*He who has done you no good*

The proverb used in conversation would consist of the first line, both of solo and chorus, but sometimes the entire song will be said to point the lesson, when someone accuses another of wrong-doing without having evidence, that accusation must await evidence to be valid. It teaches that a person should not act on suspicion alone, and that he should be sure the suspect is not innocent before he brings the matter to court. The song is part of the story of a woman who had been robbed of her food for a long time. The pot sings when it has caught the thief with the trap which the woman placed in it before she left her house, but how the pot obtained the power of speech is not recounted. The word *klɛ* is not used in everyday speech, altho in the language of the Kru of the interior; it means "to snap." *kpo* would be used ordinarily for "trap." The story and the song that goes with it, is one told by the men, and like other stories, would be told at night, especially when the moon shines. There is no dance in connection with the singing.

136. *T' o bó nyà nyá nê brɔ́ si má kô T'ò lè nyà mɔ́*  
*T'obónyà first to soil not wisdom have T'òlònyà you*  
*kô má si ú*  
*have wisdom surpassed*

*T'obonyà is the oldest, but he is not as wise as T'òlònyà.*

This proverb is based on the story of these two plants, the first of which, believed to be one of the oldest in the plant world, lives in swamps where its roots are lightly fixed and can therefore be easily pulled out. The second plant, thought to have come later, grows in the solid ground where it is impossible to uproot it. The saying, of course, refers to human beings, and is based on the Kru belief that the oldest child is usually somewhat dull because of the fact that a child's capabilities are determined by those of the parents at the time of his birth. Since people are not thought to attain their full experience of life until they have had children, it is thus impossible for the first child to be as capable as his younger brothers and sisters. This belief holds altho it conflicts with the Kru practice that the oldest male child heads the family after his father's death. The saying would be used to rebuke an oldest child for some wrong he had done, or in speaking of him, to explain his limitations.

137. *dyi sá le djù ɔ fò*  
come first child he-foolish

*The first child is foolish.*

This is a more direct statement of No. 136.

138. *kpě lɔ na ně krá nɛ bě ɔ yí ke wrò*  
Kpě lɔ say that size I-have-size she-if eagle born  
(-small)

*Kpě lɔ says, "Altho I am small, yet have I borne the eagle."*

Another proverb that goes back to an origin story. In the beginning, *Kpě lɔ*, a little bird, gave birth to Eagle, who, because he was so much larger than his mother, abandoned her and went to live his own life. The saying would be used in the case of a boy or girl, who, grown taller than the parents, no longer pays attention to them. It would only apply to physical size, and would therefore, mean that altho one person (with special reference to parents) is smaller physically than another, he may be the wiser, and therefore merits respect.

139. *sa ka sa kà tɔ nɛ bră pò mɛ miɛ*  
White-fungus teach rice grow-growing

*Sakasakà teaches the rice to grow.*

*Sakasakà* is a small white fungus which the Kru use for soup, and which, it is thought, showed the Kru people in the early

days where their rice would grow. Today, it is found in all the best rice-fields. The proverb would be used to a woman (and sometimes a man) who talked too freely and meddled in other people's affairs. The feeling is that if a woman is too talkative she teaches the other women to become gossips.

140. *krǎo na ně gbwé se ta gbwé kpá sa dya sa*  
Kru say that gossip canoes little take message bring message

*The Kru say, "The first canoe from the ship brings the news."*

When a ship is sighted off a village, the Kru rush to their canoes to see who will be first to the ship, get the news, and bring it back; such a one is called the "gossip canoe", a *gbwé se* being the name applied to a person who tells someone what another has said about him. The proverb is used to rebuke a person who retails news that is not correct.

141. *ɣwɛ bé brò na ně brò wrú ɣwɛ dyé*  
palm-nut-eater Brò say that Brò speaks palm-nut ripe

*Brò the palm-nut eater, says, "When I speak, the palm-nut is ripe."*

*Brò* is a bird somewhat like a pigeon. Its food is the palm-nut, and when the Kru see it eating from a tree they know that the nuts on the tree may be gathered. The proverb is used to indicate that some matter which has been pending, is about to be settled. The phrase "*brò wrú*", used by itself, is an emphatic way of saying "I'll do it!"

142. *ɣyɔ nē bé ɣyene wrɔ sě mē má nu wé ɛgbwa ó*  
person not announce name rich lie Black-hawk does it-split  
(-wrongly)

*ó n̄ pò pò s̄ ɣ ba í dɛ ti*  
his and Chicken-hawk two-of-them their-friendship thing  
(completion of sentence.)

*A person does not claim renown without the right to do so, because it was this that broke the friendship between Black-hawk and Chicken-hawk.*

This saying, like Nos. 107 and 113, is based on the story of Black-hawk and Chicken-hawk. The use of several phrases may be noted in the text. "To have a rich name" means to be a noted personage, while "to announce a name wrongly" is to give a person more honor than he is entitled to, or not enough. The point of the saying is that a man should not be too boastful; a point also made by the other saying based on this same stor .



143. *sa lè gyá gbwi tiē nē yi lě dé gbwi tiē sà*  
 take-there front bracelet then if-there back bracelet take

*You must take off the lower bracelet before you can remove the upper one.*

Kru women wear many silver bracelets, which are fastened on by the smith. The saying is used to an unstable person who, without finishing one task, sets about doing a more difficult one.

144. *gyɔ nē nē nē núo ɔ nē pǒ· mlě*  
 person who live live waters he-not snuff nose

*When a man is under the water, he does not inhale through his nose.*

Spoken to a person who is in a critical situation, this proverb means that when a crisis arises, one should not act impulsively but wait until he has thought the best way to receive it.

145. *à·ku tiē kpɔ tí gyɔ nē ku tiē wrò ti*  
 we-run surface-of-ground person not run under-the-ground  
 (continuative) (continuative)

*We run on the earth's surface, but no one ever ran beneath it.*

This proverb would be used by the Kru to admonish a person who spoke of doing what seemed beyond his capacity, or beyond what appeared possible.

146. *gyɔ nē kè tē dyíe na nì*  
 person not cut-hair eye eye-lid

*A person never cuts his eye-lashes.*

That is, only the hair of the head is cut when hair is trimmed in the morning after arising. The meaning is similar to that of the preceding saying, i. e., that a person should not do something that is too much for him. In saying this proverb the person speaking it would give the warning that if the impossible is attempted, the consequences might be serious.

147. *djì gyɔ nē ké lē mō bō*  
 tiger-person not rush-there you to

*You do not rush to fight the tiger-fighter.*

Adjì nyɔ is a person who scratches rather than hits when he fights. This is an approved style of fighting among the Kru, and such a fighter is greatly feared, for he apparently inflicts fearful wounds. The belief is that one's manner of fighting is inherited, and that therefore the ability to be a *djì nyɔ* is handed down in families, altho not always to all the sons.

Thus, Ta'gbwe's father was such a fighter, and so is his brother, but this is not the case with himself. A *ké lè* is a special kind of fight; one where a person comes to your house to fight you. The saying is used only for instances of actual fighting, and points out to a man the foolhardiness of seeking to provoke a person who has an advantage over him.

148. *nɔ wrɛ̃ lɛ̃ nɛ̃ nɛ̃ s'á lɔ̃ pu pɔ̃ɛ̃ dyéi*  
 raffia single-string is remove raffia lump near-above seen  
 (after (on the tree)  
 drying)

*Remove one raffia-fiber and the entire raffia-ball will drop to the ground.*

The raffia palm-tree often has a bundle of fibre hanging from its branches, which the Kru use in various ways. This bundle is suspended by one thin fibre, and if one shakes the tree only slightly, the entire bundle will drop. The proverb implies that great events are brought on by small causes, and also that important information may be obtained from inconsequential remarks.

149. *nyɔ̃ wrà djrù nɛ̃ ɔ yi ke pɔ̃*  
 person throw- sasswood not he-if make-not-guilty-noise.  
 up

*He who says he is not guilty does not always vomit the sasswood.*

As has been noted above, the ordeal by poison is one of the important means of bringing serious offenders to justice. If the poison is retained when it has been drunk, the accused dies and is thus proved guilty, — if innocent, he throws up the poison and goes free. Yet not all those who claim to be innocent throw up the poison when they are put to the test. The proverb, therefore, teaches that one should not believe everything that is told one, but rather wait for proof.

150. *nyà na nɛ̃ nɛ̃ dyé lé mɛ̃ bo ti nɛ̃ na nɛ̃*  
*nyà* say that not see-there fellow- for time then say that  
 men  
*ɔ la*  
 he-is-working

*When you do not see a man, you think that he is working.*

That is, a person thinks well of the one he does not see too much. The proverb would be used by a person upbraided for not doing something, and to whom another had been held up

as an example; it constitutes an angry retort meaning, "What do you know about *him*? You don't see him very much, so you know nothing of his faults and believe well of him; whereas, you see me all the time." The placing of the saying in the mouth of *Ŋwà* is obvious from the description of the animal given in No. 31.

151. *bora prá pré na nê à mô gyé séné à nê wê lè*  
 rice individual- say that we you young-girls we-not-finish-there  
 grains-of-rice-  
 clinging-to-  
 the-plate

*dé kli ti pa sê*  
 thing inside time quickly

*Single-grains-of-rice-clinging-to-the-plate say, "We are like young girls visiting; we cannot be dislodged quickly."*

Once a year the girls of the Kru towns go visiting. In a body, they proceed to a neighboring town, where they stay for a while with the girls of that town, singing, dancing, and feasting, — "having a good time," — and "walking around the town all dressed up." Naturally, being on a holiday, there is no need for them to hurry, and so if they have to be taken across a river, it takes a long time to ferry them, not because there are so many of them, but because they are so busy gossiping and "playing" that they cannot be got into the boat. This proverb would be said to a person who habitually took his time, meaning: "Don't waste our time too" — and might also mean, when said to a person working with something that does not promise well, "Why do you waste your time at this unimportant business?"

152. *kpwe kpáo tu mu T'ô*  
 slowness took Tumu canoes

*Slowness took Tumu's canoes.*

*Tumu* was a man who was very slow in everything he did; as, for example, "It took him a very, very long time to get mad." He lost his canoes, therefore, because it took him so long to get around to looking after them. It was carefully explained that *Tumu* was not lazy, but merely deliberate, and this proverb would not be used to rebuke a person who shirked his work. It would be said to the deliberate man, and would point out to him that if he is not more active, he will lose everything he owns.



153. *kpa kpě kpa nē ble ɣwī yi kpǎ*  
take strong take not singing voice if take

*To be strong, a person must have more than a song to eat.*

When a man has been working hard for another, and is resting because he is hungry and is waiting for something to eat, he may be rebuked by his employer for wasting his time. He would then answer with this proverb, the meaning of which is that the speaker needs food to enable him to go on with whatever he is doing.

154. *suɛ nē lq ɣzɔ*  
poverty not kill person

*To be poor kills no one.*

The word *suɛ* is difficult to translate, for while we may use "poverty" for it, there are also the connotations of "incompetence" — "laziness," — and "slowness." No one among the Kru, no matter how poor or how incompetent need fear starvation. There is always someone to give such a person food, — indeed, the theory of the Kru regarding the matter is that starvation is impossible as long as one has water to drink. The proverb would be said by someone who was reproached for not being more energetic, and signifies that he is satisfied with what he has. He possesses quite enough for his needs, why should he unduly exert himself?

155. *ɣwɔ plī pō pūɛ si dɛ kɔ kōɛ*  
mouth boasting say-said not thing have-had

*What the mouth says is not what a man has.*

The obvious meaning of this saying, that it rebukes a person who boasts about what he has or what he has done, is utilized by the Kru. The saying may also be used where no boasting is involved, to indicate incredulity: "Don't believe what people tell you until you can find out if what they say is the truth."

156. *ɣyɛ gbwê si dyíe kɔ nē wrò nò nɔ*  
human-being not eye have then heart is make

*He who does not have eyes uses his heart.*

The phrase "to use the heart" means "to think." The saying would be used to indicate that if a man is unable to verify another's statements, he must stop and consider whether the man's claims are reasonable.

157. mò nè s'í nyâ pò tô klí  
look-at there yam(-vine-that- navel inside  
grows-from-it)

*Look inside the navel of the yam.*

The "navel" of the yam is the part that first comes above the surface of the ground, and from which the vine grows. If this part is cut off, the yam dies. This saying is used in court. There is an official, the *bɔ wɪ ɔ*, who, acting for the court, summarises both sides of the case under discussion. He ends his statement with this proverb, meaning that the court should make a considered and not a hasty judgement. It is also used to young people to teach them to look carefully into what is presented to them, and not to come to conclusions too hastily.

158. s'á na né dɛ ne dú djũ wrà  
white-ant say that thing not too-heavy-to-lift people-many

*White ant says, "Nothing is too heavy for many people."*

Many can accomplish what one person cannot do, therefore help others when they need help and they will help you when you have need of them. The fact that this saying is placed in the mouth of this particular ant, a white-bodied, red-headed little creature, is because when these ants come to a village they are in such numbers that nothing can be done against them, but to move out until they have left.

159. de wrɛ yò ɔ bra djrú korá pòlò  
last late-person he-beat sea-forest-animal breast

*Being always late makes a man beat his breast like the sea-turtle.*

This saying would be used to a man who missed some opportunity because he came too late. The Kru, when they are disappointed, strike the breast, and this motion is compared to the way in which the sea-turtle's flappers beat back and forth when the animal has been caught and turned on its back to prevent escape.

160. nyá nè bwó T'ē nè djíra lè bwó bò  
person not quit trouble then he-break foot to

*He who does not cease hunting trouble will break his foot on it.*

This is spoken as a warning in such instances as trying to deter a boy who fights readily, or to a man courting another man's wife, or to anyone trifling with danger.

161. *nyenḡ si pĩ piē dyi pō nē ɔ mo gbwe tá nyenḡ nē*  
 woman not cook-cooking know that she-is spend-thrift woman is  
 (housekeeping)

*The woman who does not know how to care for her house is a spend-thrift.*

This saying would be used by a husband to his wife in a quarrel or by one woman to another in an argument, as a reproach.

162. *krǎo p<sup>or</sup> na nē nyḡ nē kpá lɔ miē dya pē dyà wrô*  
 Kru women say that person not trusting friend pot-cook-pot heart  
*The Kru women say, "Do not rely on the pot of your friend to feed you."*

This saying once more emphasises the necessity of self-dependence, and the futility of relying on others to accomplish things. It is to be compared with No. 110, which teaches the same lesson.

163. *gbwe bε lē klē nē ɔ yɔ dɔ pō*  
 dog fitted bell that his if neck around

*The dog must be able to carry his bell before it can be hung about his neck.*

The dog, in this proverb, means a man, and the bell is something he thinks he is able to do. Hence, this saying would be used to a man who boasted of what he was going to do, and means, "If you think you can do that, go ahead." The form *dɔ* only has this meaning when used with *pō*. The term in ordinary speech is *prû*.

164. *nyḡ gbwe la wé dí ε suɔ ká lō s'á*  
 mouth little kill finish mother it-not accomplish do

*Little-mouth killed his mother but accomplished nothing.*

When an employer tells a man working for him to do a task he himself cannot do, this proverb is quoted to him. To "kill one's mother" means to set a task, while "little-mouth" is one "who can talk but not do anything," according to the explanation which was given.

165. *bli né dyi pûε si ɔ T'é dyi pûε*  
 bullock water know not-he trouble know

*The bullock knows (how to go through) the water, but he does not know (how to go through) trouble.*



It is easier to get into trouble than to get out of it. There is a further meaning, that just because a person is proficient in one thing, this does not necessarily imply that he will be equally proficient in others.

166. *kpɔ na nɛ̃ ku nɪ̃ ɣyɛnɛ̃ wrɔ̃ nɛ̃ ɣɪ̃ lɔ̃ Tã mla*  
 rattle-snake say that trust rectum heart and if palm-tree nut swallow  
*Rattlesnake says, "Before you swallow a lɔ̃ nut you must have faith in your rectum."*

The habit of rattlesnake, as referred to in No. 32, is to lie in wait on a tree, whose branches bend outward over a stream, for a passing canoe into which he may drop. The reason for the rattlesnake saying this, is that the Kru admire his sly adroitness. The *lɔ̃* is a kind of palm-tree, the nuts of which are not good to eat, and which cannot be chewed, but must be swallowed whole. "Heart" in the text, means "person," as has been seen in the preceding sayings. The proverb is a warning uttered to one who is starting some undertaking that he must have faith in himself if he is to succeed.

167. *T'ɔ̃ na na nɛ̃ ɣye nɔ̃ nɪ̃ nɛ̃ mɔ̃*  
*T'ɔ̃na say that blood bait not dry*  
*T'ɔ̃na says, "The blood does not dry on your bait."*

*T'ɔ̃na* is a small river fish said to resemble a perch, but very flat. It is very greedy, and easy to catch, and the boys fish for it with hooks which they themselves make from brass wire. When they see a school of *T'ɔ̃na* they throw any kind of food into the water, which holds the fish at that place until the food is all eaten; in the meantime, the boys catch them. The fish is very soft, and, swallowing not only the bait, but the hook as well, when the hook is extracted there is usually blood on it. Hence the proverb: "Do not let the blood on your bait dry" before you put your hook back into the water to catch more fish. The moral goes once more to the familiar theme of perservering at a task once it is started, and is used to admonish young people that even tho what they do can only be finished after a long period of time, they should not let their ambition lag.

168. *ko ra dye ɣɔ̃ si wi diɔ̃*  
 spirit see-person not sorcerer

*The man who knows the kora spirit is not a sorcerer.*

A *widiɔ̃*, or "witchcraft man" practices black magic, but the *kora dye ɣɔ̃* is a man who knows sorcery but does not practice

it, and who, moreover, knows how to cure the victims of sorcery by exposing the sorcerer who has cast the spell. *Kora* is a spirit acquired by those individuals who have received the secret training in the interior where they, in common with those who want to become doctors, go through several years' training. The sorcerer, on the other hand, does not leave home to learn his relatively simple magic, but acquires it either from the *Kora dye yɔ* or the doctor, who have had to learn sorcery in the course of their training for the higher powers which they possess. It is, for this reason, that these two classes of persons are never tested in the courts by the poison ordeal for crime, for since they admittedly know evil magic as well as good, they would die even if innocent of the crime of which they were accused. If a man has been bewitched, he goes to a *Kora dye yɔ* for aid. The *Kora dye yɔ*, when night comes, builds a small fire before the house of the man who has appealed to him, and puts medicine in it. When this is done, he walks about the quarter of the town inhabited by the bewitched man, singing the "*kora*" song, while he waits. No one dares to be about or even look out when this song is heard, for fear of death. The power of the song and the medicine in the fire compels the *widiɔ* to come to the house where the fire is burning. They come disguised — the faces of some are flat and distorted; some walk upon their heads; the heads of some are turned about, so that they face backwards; some of the females have breasts that hang to the ground. When they are all assembled, the *Kora dye yɔ* demands to know the guilty one (or ones), and when they answer, he demands to know his name (or their names). Should the sorcerer refuse, as he may, the *Kora dye yɔ* detains him until daylight, when, realizing that he will be caught, he gives the information in order to be released. Once the *Kora dye yɔ* discovers the name, he informs the victim of the sorcerer, and the victim "brings him to sasswood." This kills the sorcerer, upon whose death the bewitched man is cured. The *kora*, it must be explained, is a very powerful spirit, and the person who has it must obey it. This is the reason why such a man may not perform witchcraft, for should he do so, his *kora* would kill him. The proverb would be used, according to the explanation which was given, by conspirators who were planning to kill a *Kora dye yɔ*, to ease the minds of each other, for "even tho this man has *kora* we can murder him because the spirit will not avenge his life." Altho there is a more extended significance easily discernable, the Kru, as far as could be discovered, restrict the saying to uses of the particular type just mentioned.

169. *krǎo na ně dyí tí wru wre ε si nyē kra de*  
 Kru say that eye-inside-speak-dance it-not strong-thing

*The Kru say, "Because a person is headstrong, it does not follow that he is also strong."*

The proverb would be used when a person gets into trouble and is punished, as a warning not to do it again; the saying is used especially for children.

170. *krǎo na ně â-trê pá s'î nyô ně trê wre s'î*  
 Kru say that we-tell rich lie person not tell long-living lie

*The Kru say, "We can lie about our wealth, but not about our age."*

The Kru hold that age cannot be hidden. The saying is used to express scepticism when something that seems exaggerated is said by the speaker about himself.

171. *kũ ně mế o ně gwô wrí mô nyô nó mwa ti gwô wrí*  
 dead- that dead he-not-head drum- you person you-seeing- hear drums  
 person mers (completion)

*The dead man cannot hear the drums; only the living can hear them.*

*Ku* is the term for "body from which the spirit has gone." The saying is used by a person asking for help, and means, "Do not wait until I am dead, and then decorate my grave, for this will do me no good and I shall not be able to appreciate it."

172. *krǎo na ně wrû gbwa gwê mố T'ă nô ξ ně s'ê*  
 Kru say that say-spoken-words you-are hard-nut (it-) who it-not-rot

*The Kru say, "Hard words form a nut that never rots."*

This proverb would be spoken to someone who is reviling another, or perhaps bringing up occurrences of long ago which shame his family. It means that the person who is being attacked, altho he may not be doing anything to rebuke the other, will never forget the insult, and that full payment for what has been said will sooner or later be exacted. The logical moral lesson, that one should not go out of one's way to insult others, was not obtained, and apparently, the Kru restrict the use of this proverb to that one given.

173. *nyô nê kwà kũ o mô nô blê o bwê*  
 person-(you-) who-have dead-person he-you he-(who) carries his-feet  
 family

*You in whose family the death occurs should carry the feet.*

Every death among the Kru is thought to be caused by someone, and the body itself tells the relatives of the deceased



who was responsible for the death. This is done in the following way: the body is put on a bier, as described in No. 133, and carried feet forward. A relative must be at the forward end, for the feet of the dead direct him where to go. He is actuated by the spirit of the dead, and if he does not do as the spirit dictates, he is struck a hard blow on the neck by the spirit, to recall him to his duty. The one who carries the rear end of the bier exhorts the dead man's spirit to indicate who is responsible for the death, until finally the bier knocks against the door of the murderer. This man is thereupon accused in court, and undergoes the ordeal of drinking the poison sasswood. The proverb itself is used by a person, not a relative of the dead person, upon whom the heavy and unwelcome responsibility of the funeral has fallen, as a protest that it is not upon him that this burden should be placed.

174. *krǎo na ně ně sí kẹ mẹ dó ně mẹ T.ẹ gbwa pa yó*  
 Kru say that then not yet die one then die curse crippled-man  
*The Kru say, "To curse a cripple is to court death."*

That is, because while you are still alive, you are always liable to accidents which may make you worse off than he is. It is only after death, as the information given concluded, "that you pass this trouble." The proverb would be used only as a rebuke in an actual incident where a cripple was ridiculed.

175. *kuε sě ke mō dyě ně nq ně mō s̄iε*  
 sickness not-yet you see and you say you good

*Sickness has never seen you, so you think you are a good man!*

This would be said to a person who boasted about his health, and made fun of those who were ill. The meaning, however, is that this is not good, for a person still has to live his life and does not know what the future has in store for him. It is a specialized version of our "He who laughs last, laughs best," as is the preceding proverb.

176. *s.̄aō T.̄ǎ meī t̄uō pu p̄ō meī ε̄ pō p̄ó n̄o dyi po*  
 take salt tip-of-tongue put ashes tip-of-tongue it-only she know  
*To take salt from the tip of the tongue, to put ashes there, is all she knows.*

"Salt" and "ashes" are the terms used by the Kru to mean the kind of talk which might be called redintegration, — continual speech about anything which comes to the mind

of the speaker no matter whether there is any relation between things said. "She" in the proverb applies to such a talkative woman, and would be said by her husband or her relatives to her in trying to correct her, or by others in speaking of her among themselves. Said to a woman by someone not closely related to her, it would constitute a serious insult.

177. *krǎo na ně bora nē sí dyε dō ε· nē wrú*  
Kru say that rice that not dry yet it-not-whole

*The Kru say, "Rice that is not dry does not come out of the mortar unmashed."*

*o si wrú*, "he is not whole" means "he is without experience." Hence, just as damp rice will be mashed under the pestle when it is pounded, so to put a man to a task for which he is not fitted and for which he lacks training is to render him a failure at it, — "he does not come out whole." A person's family might say this to console a man who had failed in something for lack of experience, or as a deterrent to one who was about to attempt something for which they did not think him properly prepared; or it might be said by strangers among themselves about a person who had failed, or whom they thought was undertaking too much.

178. *bla blε na ně na búε gyq wrê Tè si nǎ Tè tí wǒwé*  
sheep say that my-feet small trouble not my-trouble- understand  
(lit., whip- (continuative)  
whipped)

*Sheep says, "Tho my feet are small, (do not think) I do not understand trouble."*

The term for sheep comes from the fact that he is often whipped because he does not resent it. "He does not say anything, so we wonder if he understands." His protest, "My ability to understand has nothing to do with my small feet," teaches the lesson that one should not judge by appearances. Altho a man may not have a "big face" (compare No. 21), and may not actively resent insults and may be a small person, he may be cleverer than one credits him with being.

179. *ni gynε nē la ylé bwō ple kli tí*  
water-falling is fall-there foot fear inside (-continuative)

*The foot fears to go where the water is falling.*

*Ni gynε*, and *wōple*, meaning "rough" are two kinds of dangerous currents of water, the exact difference between

which, however, could not be ascertained. The saying would be used in a situation where two people were discussing a third, either in his presence or not, and is spoken by this third person to inquire whether it was he who was referred to in what was said.

180. *dyíε si nyɔ yéi ε me né m̃ sù krō bá m̃ kwe*  
 eye not person see it-is that is cassava-with-pepper is hands  
*d̃*  
 one-by-one

*A person whom the eye does not see is like the cassava with pepper eaten by many people.*

"Cassava with pepper" is the commonest food of the Kru and is not considered very good; the phrase, like the other one "a person whom the eye does not see," means one for whom one has no respect. The proverb would be used in a case such as the following: a visitor comes to a man's house, and while he is there, the man and his wife quarrel violently. To do this in his presence marks a great lack of respect for the visitor, and he would reproach them for doing this with this proverb.

181. *gbu kp̃ dyóá gbwe na né dyéi m̃ε ko lá*  
 hunchback Dyóá little say that to-see friend place-kill  
 (die)

*The hunchback worm Dyóá says, "See how your fellow dies."*

The speaker is a small worm which the children catch in play, and then toss into the sun to lie until dead. When this has been done to a number of them, each watches the other die. The proverb is said to someone who does not sympathize with another who has had ill fortune, or who taunts another about his trouble, and means "See what may happen to you!"

182. *djli si mō dyéi nà wru djli ɣwí*  
 medicine not you see you speak medicine words

*The medicine has not seen you, but you talk as tho it had.*

That is, you are not a doctor, but you speak as tho you were. The moral is that a person should not take more authority than he is entitled to, and this proverb would be used to rebuke a pretentious person.

183. *nà wrô la gbu gb̃ni ε flù dji kíá ti*  
 your-heart kill gbu-gb̃ni it-lay tiger top-(continuative)

*When your heart has killed Gbu-gb̃ni, it is ready to kill Dji.*



*Gbu-gbúi* is the name of an animal that lives in the bush. It is small, and red in color, and bites people who disturb it. It feeds on dates and what it can steal from the farms. *Dji*, "tiger" is the feline who has figured in the proverbs before this. When one is guilty of "killing *Gbu-gbúi* in his heart" he will also lay plans to perform some important crime — "killing *Dji*." The proverb would be said to a man whom the speaker suspects of plotting some mischief.

184. *T'ò nē f'ó y'irè tu bwè wà k'í kro*  
war not fighting there tree- of-break Kí town  
bunch

*War never occurs in the city of Kí, the Tu bwè wà.*

*Kí* was the name of a priest who died long ago, and who was a *Tu bwè wà*. The duties of this type of priest consist in his being the last to go to war and the last to return. He sees that no one lags behind when there is fighting, and that no one goes to the enemy's country when the war is over. The proverb is an expression of impatience, and means that the speaker can brook no further delay.

185. *kle yié bí dye né é wè*  
farm if father see and it-finish

*When the farm sees its owner, it is finished.*

The "farm" is a case in court, the final disposition of which the defendant is putting off by not coming to court himself, as is necessary in Kru legal practice, but by sending a representative. If this happens several times, someone is sure to rebuke the person who is holding up settlement of the matter in dispute, by quoting this proverb to him. It also carries the more extended meaning of the need to attend to one's affairs personally, for if left to others, they will never be settled.

186. *pô tû na né yi wrú mụ né kre nyé s'ená nè dué*  
little-plum tree say that if to-come- go then there young and begin  
out-whole

*The tree-which-bears-little-plums says, "If a person is to turn out well, he must begin when he is young."*

The tree which speaks this proverb is very large, but has small leaves and its fruit is small. In spite of its size, which is almost that of great silk-cotton tree, it gives very unsatisfactory shade. The meaning of the saying is that lack of early training accounts for a man's failure, and it is used to explain why a

person who comes of a good family, and who would be expected to turn out well, has not done so.

The proverbs which were recalled by Mr. Ta'gbwe end at this point. I wished, however, to obtain some insight into the extent to which the same sayings are distributed throughout the region in which he lives, and therefore had recourse to Ellis' work on the Vai<sup>1</sup>. In this, he gives 128 sayings, with some explanation of their meanings, and the occasions on which they are used. The proverbs which follow, therefore, are those suggested to Mr. Ta'gbwe when I read Ellis' sayings to him. Only nine new proverbs were brought to his mind by the much larger number given, and even some of these show associations which are most tenuous.

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187. *si pa lè nê bi sí liò*  
not enter there then must pass there

*He who does not enter a house must pass by it.*

This would be used after a quarrel, when one of the parties to it is reported to have said that if the other appeared in his vicinity, he would teach him a lesson; then the one threatened would on the first occasion go to that part of town to show that he accepts the challenge. This, apparently, is necessary for his self-respect. It was made clear that the man challenged would not need to pass the enemy's house immediately after hearing of the challenge; it would be sufficient for him to appear in the enemy's neighborhood when he was near that part of town. This is to be compared with No. 15 in Ellis' "Negro Culture in West Africa," where he quotes the Vai proverb as "If I do not go in, I must go by" as having the meaning that the speaker thus refuses credit to one who has asked it of him.

188. *blì na nê à'na de ka nyê de*  
cow say that we-follow thing-have-person back

*The cow says, "We follow the man who has possessions."*

A *dekyê* is a rich man, and the proverb means that where money is needed, even a big man (in the physical sense) must give way before a small one who has possessions. The saying would be used in a clan council when a man personally insignificant, but possessed of riches, had to be looked to to redeem the clan from a penalty that had been assessed against it. Cow speaks because she will follow the person who had fed her.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, George W., "Negro Culture in West Africa," New York, 1914.

The saying is to be compared to the Vai proverb (Ellis, No. 9) — "The cow follows the man that has salt," both as to its form and application. For the Vai give it an extended meaning which we should expect to find, while the Kru restrict it to the situation mentioned.

189. *si pà de gbwe nĩ nuε dyi pō nē k'a ne 'bē lé wǎ yu wà*  
 not can thing little do-doing know not how fit there break-broken  
*dé fuε nĩ nuε ny*  
 thing big do-doing do

*A person who cannot fit a little piece broken off to the whole object, cannot repair one that has been entirely broken.*

This proverb is used by an older person to teach a young one that unless he takes care in doing little things, he will never be able to do big ones when he grows up, since he will not have the necessary training. The similar Vai proverb, "If you cannot mend the gourd, how can you fix the bowl?" (Ellis, No. 18) has a much more specialized meaning, being actually used to refuse an important job to a craftsman who has shown himself unable to handle a much smaller one.

190. *suēi djru wro wrē ε mwō pà pē*  
 poor-men children born-being-born it-is rich-richest

*The poor man who has children is richest.*

Compare Ellis, No. 25, "The poor man raises children for the rich," which served to recall this saying. The meaning here is quite different from that of the Vai proverb, being that a rich man who has no children is poorer than a poor man who does have them, as his property will not be held together, while the poor man's sons will work for him and protect him when he is old.

191. *sp s̃p̃ (h)né gbwē nē dùε ε mε nē nyi nĩ (h)ni pō dyie*  
 rotten- fish little that one it-is spoil fishes many eye  
 rotten

*One small spoiled fish spoils all the others in the basket.*

The Vai proverb that suggested this one, "One bad goat will spoil the herd" (Ellis, No. 33) has only a generalized meaning as compared to that of this one for the Kru. Among the Kru, it means that a bad deed by an insignificant member of a family may prove a tool in the mouth of an enemy for taunting the entire family, even tho no other incident could be spoken



in reproach of the family. The proverb would be spoken by a bystander when, in a quarrel, one person taunted another with the fact that some member of that person's family had done something disgraceful.

192. ɔ nē kpá Tɔ kɛ ɔ nyà pia wí  
he-not-take war but he-hear guns sound

*He does not go to war, but he hears the guns.*

This is used by people to indicate a coward, — "He always talks about war but never goes when there is fighting to be done." It might be used by a wife during a quarrel with her husband to insult him. It has little relation, either in form or meaning to Ellis' proverb (No. 52) which brought it to mind.

193. nyɔ nē nŷi sɛra ké  
person not do house back (outside)

*A person does not judge the house by its outer appearances.*

That is, one should not judge a person by externals. It is essentially the same in form and meaning as the Vai saying (Ellis, No. 74), "The house looks pretty from the outside, but the inside is bad."

194. nyɔ nē pái P'è nè s'p kura  
person not the act of holding two the two objects two forest  
objects in the hands that are held  
when the hands are needed  
for something else.

*A person does not try to push his way thru the forest with his two hands full.*

This was suggested by Ellis' "If you put flour in two hands it will be dirty" (No. 92), altho its resemblance both as to form and meaning ends with the use of the figure "two hands." The moral for the Kru is that a person should not try to do two things at once which it is impossible to do simultaneously, or to have two mutually exclusive objects in view, for his indecision in hurrying from one task to the other will defeat his purpose.

## DANCE SONGS AND TALES FROM THE BAHAMAS.

BY ZORA HURSTON.

## DANCE SONGS.

These songs accompany the exceedingly African folk dance called the fire dance. It was done in the nude formerly, but the British Government has put a penalty on that.

There are two kinds of the dance, the jumping dance, and the ring play, which is merely a more elaborate form of the jumping dance. The dances are purely social.

In either form of this dancing, the players form a ring, with the bonfire to one side. The drummer usually takes his place near the fire. The drum is held over the blaze until the skin tightens to the right tone. There is a flourish signifying that the drummer is all set. The players begin to clap with their hands. The drummer cries, "Gimbay!" (a corruption of the African word *gumbay*, a large drum) and begins the song. He does not always select the song. The players more often call out what they want played. One player is inside the ring. He or she does his preliminary flourish, which comes on the first line of the song, does his dance on the second line, and chooses his successor on the third line and takes his place in the circle. The chosen dancer takes his place and the dance goes on until the drum gets cold. What they really mean by that is, that the skin of the head has relaxed until it is no longer in tune. The drummer goes to the fire and tunes it again. This always changes the song.

As an example we may take Bimini Gal. A player has just been chosen. The whole assembly is singing in concert.

"Bim'ni gal is a hell of a trouble." Player makes his flourish while yet in the circle.

"Never get a licking till you go down to Bim'ni." Player dances out to center of the ring.

"Eh, lemme go down to Bim'ni." He does his own particular step, which is varied according to the skill of the dancer.

"Never get a licking till you go down to Bim'ni." He dances up to the one he chooses and takes his place back in the circle, as the next dancer winds up for her flourish. Men usually choose women and vice versa. The children play too, and with the adults.

In the ring play, it is to be noted that the songs are longer, as befits a more elaborate dance. The procedure is the same, except that the

dancer in the ring does not retire immediately upon selecting his successor. The one chosen enters the ring with him and the two dance a sensuous duet for a full minute or so, then the retiring dancer is swung to his place.

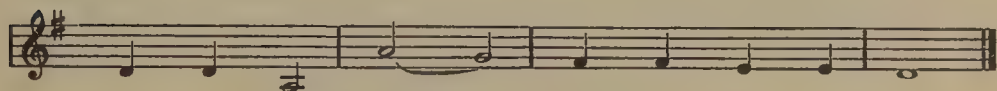
This dancing is universal in the Bahamas, the educated Negroes excepted. It resembles the Cuban *rumba* and the dances held in New Orleans after the great migration of Haitian and Santo Dominican Negroes after the success of L'Ouverture. Every dry night the drums can be heard throbbing, no matter how hard the dancers have worked that day, or must work the next.

'DO AN' NANNIE (HOWDY DO, AUNT NANNIE)

(Jumping Dance)



Do An Nan-nie, do An Nan-nie, do An Nan-nie,



how you do? Eh, eh, do An Nan-nie, do.

Hotel burn down smack and smoothe,  
White man run and lef his shoes.  
Eh, eh, do An Nannie, do.

Refrain:

Do An Nannie, etc.

When I was young and in my prime,  
Devil in hell couldn't beat my time.  
Eh, eh, do An Nannie, do.

Refrain:

Do An Nannie, etc.

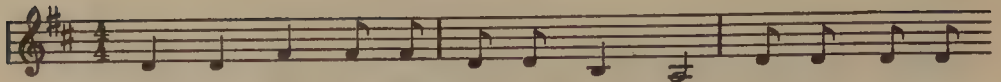
Now I'm old and getting gray,  
My constitution's wore away.  
Eh, eh, do An Nannie do.

Refrain:

Do An Nannie, do An Nannie, do An Nannie, how you do?  
Eh, eh, do An Nannie do.



BIMINI GAL  
(Jumping dance)

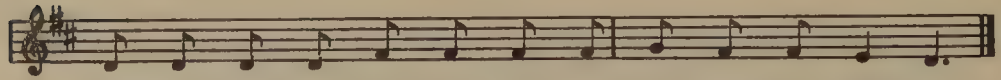


Bim'ni Gal is hell of a trouble, Never get a

Refrain:



licking till you go down to Bim'ni. Eh, lemmego down to Bim'ni,

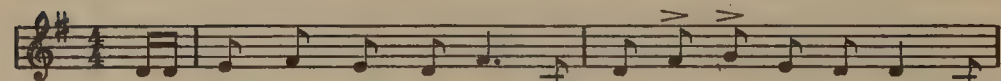


Never get a licking till you go down to Bim'ni.

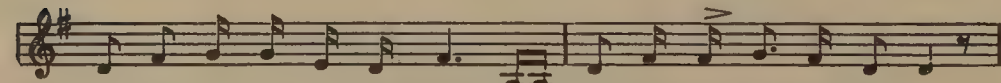
Jim Curry, Joe Curry bully for Skelton  
Never get a licking, etc. — Refrain.

East, south, east, south, take you to the lighthouse.  
Never get a licking till you go down to Bim'ni. — Refrain.

MAMA I SAW A SAILBOAT  
(A ring-play for adults and children)

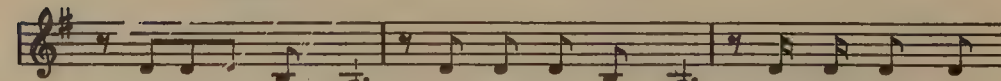


Mama I saw a sailboat a sailing in the harbor. I

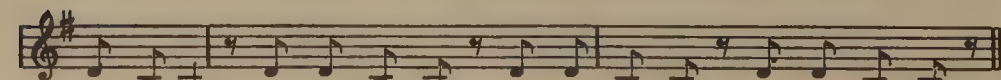


saw a yaller ' aboard it and I took him to be my lov-er.

Refrain



It's killing ma-ma It's killing ma-ma Two shillings in

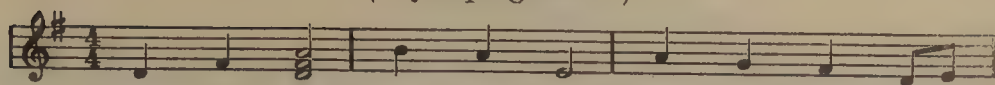


the cooker 'Skilling mama 'Skilling mama! 'Skilling mama.

(This refrain is kept up until the drum changes)

ODESSA

(A jumping Dance)



Lime, Oh lime, juice and all, lime, Oh lime, 'Dessa,

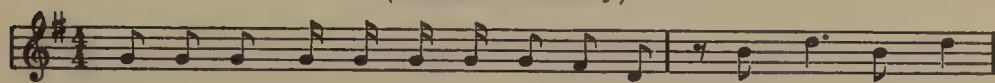
Refrain:



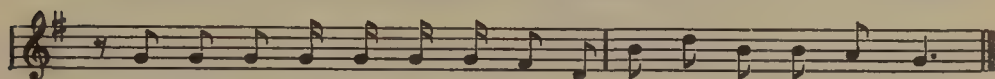
hold yo' back. 'Dessa, hold yo' back O - des - sa, etc.  
(until the drum is cold.)

CEASAR RILEY

(Seaman chantey)



Ceasar Ril' is a hell of a joker, Hello, Ceasar.



Stick his ma wid a great big poker, Hello, Ceasar Ri - ley.

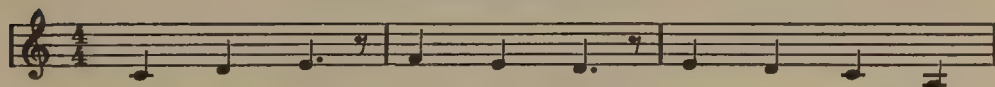
Ceasar Riley is a hell of a cruel  
Hello, Ceasar.

Something come out like flour gruel,  
Hello, Ceasar Riley.

Lay on my belly heap more sweet, ma.  
Hello, Ceasar.

Lay on my back, sweet more worser,  
Hello, Ceasar Riley.

SPONGER MONEY



Laugh gal, laugh, laugh gal laugh, laugh gal, laugh gal,



Sponger money. Sponger mo - ney ne - ver done.



Sponger money, Sponger Sponger money,

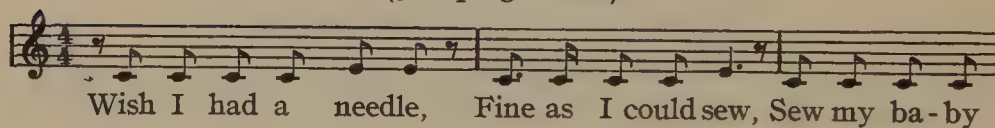
Laugh gal, laugh, laugh, gal, laugh.  
 Laugh, gal, laugh, gal,  
 Sponger money.  
 (This is the refrain).

Sponger money never done  
 Sponger money  
 Sponger money never done  
 Sponger money  
 Laugh gal laugh, etc.

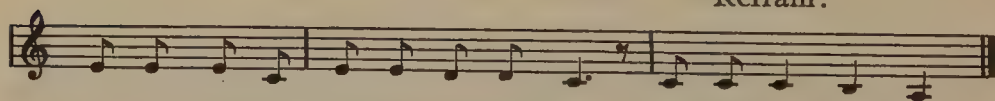
I dont eat no cut-up potatoes  
 Sponger money  
 I dont eat no cut-up potatoes  
 Sponger money  
 Laugh gal, laugh, etc.

Yo' Daddy call you a dirty gal  
 Sponger money  
 Yo' Daddy call you a dirty gal  
 Sponger money  
 Laugh gal, laugh, etc.

DOWN DE ROAD, BABY  
 (Jumping Dance)

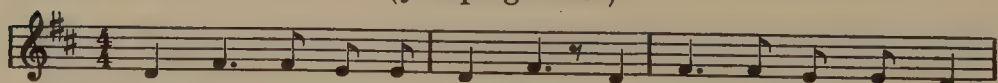


Refrain:

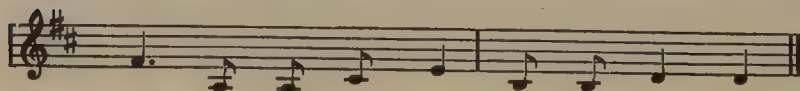


to my side and down de road I'd go. Down de road, Ba-by.  
 Down de road, Baby, etc, etc (till the drum cools.)

MAMA, LOOK AT DE BROWNIE  
 (Jumping dance)



Mama. look at de Brownie Mama, look at de Brow-

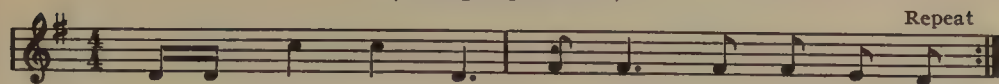


nie. Ma-ma, John gone Ma-ma, John gone.

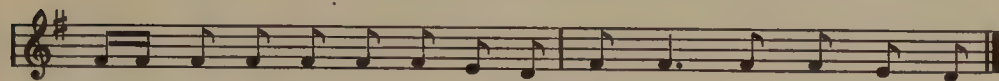


WHITE GOWN AND DINGY COAT

(Jumping dance)



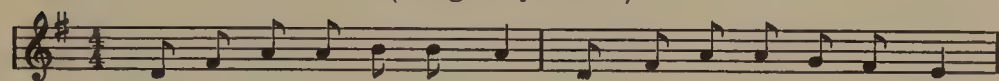
Mama, lay, lay, lay, white gown and dingy coat  
Mama, lay, lay, lay, white gown and dingy coat



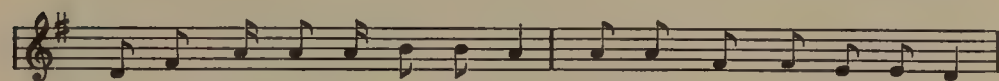
Hold up yo' dress, lemme see yo' coat, white gown and dingy coat.

WHEEL, MISS CURRY

(Ring Play dance)

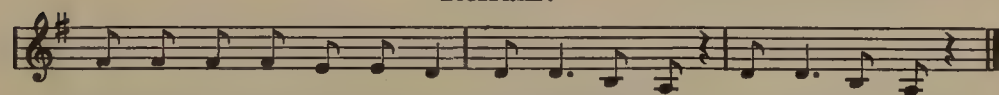


Mother, may I go to school? Yes, my darling, you may go.



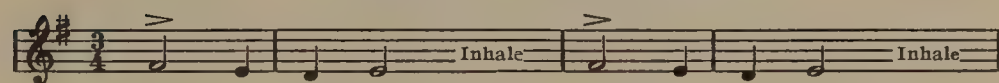
You may put on a ribbon bow why you wheel Miss Curry so.

Refrain:

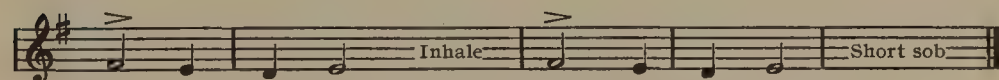


Wheel Miss Curry, buck her so. Wheel Miss Curry Wheel Miss Curry, etc.  
(until the drum is cold.)

FAREWELL TO THE ROCK (AFRICA)



Eh, yea ai yea, Lah, nah sah wu,



Ray, ray, ai yea, Nah, nah sah rue!

FAREWELL TO AFRICA

This drum song is from Fox Hill, the purely descended African colony at Nassau. It is a Yoruba song. Translated it means, "Farewell to you (Who remain) we are going we know not where." It is wailed over and

over and over and grows more mournful as it goes. The dancing posture even weeps. It is slow and the drum is very eerie.

Eh, yea ai yea (sudden expulsion\* of the end of the breath and an accented inhalation)

Lah, nah sah wu (same business)

Ray, ray, ai yea

Nah, nah, sah rue.

## FOLK TALES<sup>1</sup>

### I. THE SNAKE AND THE GUM MALLIMIE TREE<sup>2</sup>

One day the snake climbed up the gum mallimie tree to take a nap. As soon as he went to sleep, he fell out of the tree and sprained his back. He got very angry for he believed that the tree deliberately threw him out. So he cursed the tree. The tree tried to explain, but the snake wouldn't listen. He kept on cursing the tree. So the tree got mad, too, and told the snake: "Well, if you want to believe I hurt you purposely, do so. And since you cheek me about it I'm going to be hard on you and your children."

So that is why no snake will climb the gum mallimie tree. And since the snake cheeked the tree, if you touch a snake with a gum mallimie twig, it will paralyze him.

### 2. ADAM AND EVE<sup>3</sup>

The reason the world is so wicked is because the first child born in the world was a bastard. Cain was a bastard child. He was the son of the Devil.

One day Adam was working out in the field and the Devil turned himself into a good-looking man and come to see Eve. He had been wanting to get up to her for a long time. So he showed Eve this deep point about everything and got Eve all excited about this apple tree.

So they went out under the apple tree and Eve parted with what she didn't know she had. She bit Satan on the neck and shoulder. They was under the tree and that's why people make love under trees today.

<sup>1</sup> These tales were recorded in Nassau, Bahamas, in 1929 and 1930, except for the four stories, which were recorded in Miami from Bahamian settlers as described in the notes to those tales.

<sup>2</sup> Told by William Weeks, a wealthy Negro plantation owner about forty. He had had about a seventh grade education, but had travelled extensively.

<sup>3</sup> Told by Richard Barrett, a taxi driver about the hotels in Nassau. About forty-five years old. Born in Kingston, Jamaica. Been in Nassau fifteen years.

So he knowed there was going to be some hereafter to the thing, so he put her up to get Adam into it, too. So soon as Adam come home Eve started in on him and kept on till he got mixed up in it.

Next day Eve had on a pretty calico dress and Adam was dressed, too, when God come and drove them off. Adam blamed Eve because he knowed something was wrong — but he didn't know what.

Way after, Adam and Eve often quarreled about how she come to know what she knowed. Adam would ask her: "Did Satan do with you as I do?" She would say: "Naw, honey, didn't I tell you he just *told* me about it, and I told you just as he told me."

"But, Eve, I can't understand why you didn't call me to talk with him and let him tell me instead of you lying about with him all the afternoon like you did."

That is the way they used to fuss about Satan. So when Cain was born Adam saw he looked just like Satan and not a bit like him, and they fussed some more; but Eve stuck to her point and Adam had to shut up. When Abel was born he compared the children, and there wasn't no comparison between them.

So that is why Cain hated Abel, because they was not whole brothers. And that is why God wouldn't accept Cain's sacrifice — because he was the Devil's son. And that is why he accepted Abel's sacrifice — because he was Adam's son.

So when Cain killed Abel he fled away and married a gorilla. So all of the people in the world come from Cain and that gorilla. That is how the animal got into us. That's how come those old patriarchs used to live so long. They was close to the gorilla and strong. That's why old Methusaleh lived nine hundred sixty-nine years — he was just full of that old gorilla blood.

As time goes on that old animal blood works out and leaves the human blood. That is why they say we are growing weaker and wiser.

### 3. THE SOLOMON CYCLE<sup>1</sup>

#### *a.*

Do you know why Solomon said, "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity and a vexation of spirit?" Well, you see, Solomon married up thousands of women. They say them folks way back didn't have no sense, but Solomon was the wisest man that ever lived.

He had a room in that gold palace with a glass ceiling in it. Whenever one of his new wives would be brought to him, before he would see her he would sit and talk with her awhile in that room over the glass floor. If she looked to suit him, he would excuse himself and make out he had some business out in the yard. Then he would go into that room with the glass ceiling and look up at the girl sitting upstairs.

<sup>1</sup> Told by Richard Barrett, see note above.



Well, after he had done married hundred of girls he got a little old. He wasn't so old in years, but he was all tired out.

Then here comes the Queen of Sheba to visit him. She was very beautiful and everything, and Solomon took her right up to the room and entertained for a while. Then he went downstairs and peeped up. She was beautiful every way he looked at her, but he realized his constitution was wore away.

Then Solomon took off his crown and dashed it against the wall and said: "All is vanity and a vexation of spirit."

b.

When the Queen of Sheba visited Solomon she fell in love with him right away, but he talked very slow. So she said to him: "King Solomon, I want something."

He said: "You can have anything you want, even to half of my kingdom. What is it you want?"

She says: "I want some water to drink."

Old Solomon called a man and told him to bring her some water in a golden goblet.

She said: "No, I don't want no water out of no golden goblet. I want a drink of living water, and I don't want no water out of no well; I don't want no water out of no lake; I don't want no water out of no river, nor no stream, nor no pump. But I am thirsty, I want a drink!"

So Solomon called one of his men and told him to take his fastest race horse and put him on the track and to take a basin with him and to run that horse until he sweat that bowl full of sweat.

After a while the man come back with the bowl of horse-sweat and Solomon put it in a golden bowl and handed it to Sheba to drink.

She throwed it on the ground and told him: "I heard that you was a very wise man, but you don't know how to quench thirst."

So she went on home.

c.

When the Queen of Sheba come to Solomon he loved her as soon as he saw her, but she acted so indifferent he didn't know how to get up to her.

So you know he was a very wise man, so he thought up a scheme. So he told her: "Now, Queen of Sheba, you mustn't steal nothing while you are here in my kingdom. If you do, I will punish you in any way I want to. You will have to do anything I say."

She said: "Oh no, I don't steal."

So he give her a great banquet, and everything was salty. He didn't have a drop of drinking water nowhere. There was a fountain out on the lawn and that was the only water to be found around the palace.

After the dinner was over, Solomon run out and hid in the bushes close to the fountain and waited.

Pretty soon the Queen sneaked up to the fountain and got a drink of water.

Soon as she got through, Solomon rose up and said: "Unh hunh, Queen of Sheba, I told you not to steal and here you are stealing my water."

He called the servants and had her took right into the palace. She was in his power then.

#### 4. WHY THE DOG HAS A SMALL WAIST<sup>1</sup>

Once Brer Anansy cooked some duckanoo (a sort of pudding) and wrapped it up in pieces of banana leaves to cool. He went on back into the house. The dog sneaked up and swallowed five of the duckanoo, and was about to swallow all, when Brer Anansy came out and caught him. He grabbed Brer Dog around the waist and squeezed three of the duckanoo out of Brer Dog and that left that sunken space in his flanks. That is why dogs have neat waists.

#### 5. HOW MAN GOT HIS MOUSTACHE<sup>2</sup>

Man used to have hair on his face, but no moustache. In those days women had hair around the anus like men. But one day Woman said to Man: "You have no hair on your lips and I think you would look better with some on your top lip. Now I have some hair that is too far back to do me any good, so I'll give it to you."

So Woman rob herself and make Man a present of it. It was not convenient to her, so she slapped it cross his mouth and it's there yet.

#### 6. DEVIL, TRACKS<sup>3</sup>

Once God went to Nassau and walked all around the island of New Providence. The Devil was in Cat Island when he heard that God was in the Bahamas. So he hurried to New Providence to see what God was doing there, but God wouldn't let him come ashore, so he ran along the west coast as God walked along the road. If you don't believe it; you can go there now and see his tracks.

#### 7. THE OLD WOMAN AND HER CHILD<sup>4</sup>

Once there was a old woman who had a little girl. One day she was sending her out with some fig. She said to the little girl: "Don't give anybody a fig."

<sup>1</sup> Told by Richard Barrett, see note above.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Richard Barrett, see note above.

<sup>3</sup> Told by Ned Isaacs. Son of a well-to-do Nassau merchant. About thirty-two. Not above high school education but well travelled.

<sup>4</sup> Told by Merle Woods. A girl of eleven years old. In school.

"All right, mama." Then she went on her way. "Nice fig to sell."

Her mama came to her in a form of a old woman. "Do, child, give me a fig."

"Mama say that I must not give anybody a fig." "Do give me if only five fig." "Mama say that I must not give anybody a fig."

She give the old woman five fig and when she went home her mama asked her if she give anybody a fig. "Mama, I did not give anybody a fig." Shesaid, "I give a old woman fig." She send the little girl out for the hatchet and lay the child neck over the butcher block and chop the child neck off and put it under the pepper tree. And when the father came home he asked for the little girl. His wife said that she send her out and her husband went to the pepper tree and begin to pick pepper.

"Do, my father, don't pull my hair for mama has kill me for one fig."

The father call his wife and asked her where is the little girl and she said: "I send she out pick on pepper." When she pick the pepper the child said: "Do, my mama, don't pull my hair for you has kill me for five little fig."

Then the husband send his wife for the butcher block and hatchet and chop off her head and put it in the oven and burn it.

Bid bid biddy  
My story is end.

#### 8. THE CANE FIELD<sup>1</sup>

Once there was an man who had a daughter and Brer Rabbit came there and said: "Your father said that you must tie me to the best cane field."

She went to the barn and get a rope and tie him, and when her father came home and said: "Who has been eating cane?" "A man came here and said that you send him here." "If he come here, go to the barn and get a rope and tie him to it."

And the next day he come and said: "Your father said that you must tie me to the best field."

She went to the barn and get a rope and tie him. He said that when two o'clock come, loose me. When two o'clock come he call her: "Alice, come to loose me."

And her father come home and put on the boiler. When the water was hot he put Brer Rabbit into the cane and put the hot water on him. He said: "Oh, my tail is scald!"

Biddy, biddy bend,  
My story is end.  
Turn loose the rooster  
And hold the hen.

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Merle Woods, see note above.



9. THE FARMYARD<sup>1</sup>

Once there was a farmer who used to work on the farm. One morning a man came to the farmer house and met the farmer at the door and asked the farmer: "Have you any work?"

The farmer said: "Have you had your breakfast?"

"No," said the man.

"Well, sit right down and have breakfast."

Well, he had a good cup of coffee and slice of bread with butter and and after this the farmer came out and said: "Have you had your dinner?"

"No," said he.

"Well, sit right down and have your dinner."

He thought he could not eat a bit more but he started out and had a very good dinner. And the farmer came out and said: "Have you had your supper?"

"No," said he.

"Well, sit right down and have your supper."

He thought he could not eat a bit more but he started out and had a good supper, and the farmer came out and said: "You have had a good breakfast and a good dinner and a good supper. Now go out on the farm and work for the day without stopping."

"Oh," he said, "I always go to bed after supper." So he arose and said good-by.

Biddy, biddy bend,  
My story is end.

10. BRER BOOKIE AND BRER RABBIT<sup>2</sup>

Once there was a farmer who had a big field, and Brer Bookie and Brer Rabbit used to go into the field. One day Brer Rabbit said to Brer Bookie: "I see a nice bunch of banana in the field. Let us go and get it."

When they had taken it home, the farmer cut a hole in winder and Brer Rabbit poked his hand in, and the man chop it off.

He said to Brer Bookie: "I have got plenty banana."

Brer Bookie poke his hand in and he got it chop off. So all had their hands chop off.

11. THE DEVIL, AND A HORSE AND GOAT<sup>3</sup>

Once there was a devil who had a horse and goat. One day the devil went out and call the goat home to cook. And a man who living on the other side came and asked for some food. The goat would not give it to him and he kill the goat.

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Merle Woods, see note above.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Merle Woods, see note above.

<sup>3</sup> Told by Merle Woods, see note above.

And the next day the horse was left home to cook and then the man came and asked for some food and the horse would not give it to him. So he kill the horse. The next day the devil stay home too. So the man came and asked for some food and the devil would not give it to him. So he fight the devil and the devil beat him and threw him out. His house was under the devil house and he had to come out through a hole, and the devil put his coat over the hole. So he never came out and died in there.

This is the end.

## 12. THE SPERRIT HOUSE<sup>1</sup>

Once upon a time was a good old time. Monkey chew tobacco and spit white lime.

Now it was Brer Bookie and Brer Rabbit used to go out stealing. Go to the sperrit house and this night Brer Bookie see Brer Rabbit coming down wid a dray load of things. Brer Bookie say: "Brer Rabbit, where you get all these good things from?" He scratch he head.

Brer Rabbit tell him: "From de sperrit house and tomorrow morning at six o'clock I will take you get something, too."

Bookie wake up at five o'clock and say to Brer Rabbit: "Six o'clock now time to go. Six o'clock now time to go."

Rabbit say: "Naw, it 'tain't six o'clock yet."

So Bookie ketch a big fire in de yard to say daylight come. Rabbit say: "No, mon, daylight ain't come yet."

So when six o'clock come, Brer Rabbit put on his clothes and both of them went till they come to the sperrit house. When they come there Rabbit say: "My house come down so low." And the house come down and they went in and Brer Bookie say: "Mon, good food in here, good food in here. I will cook a pot of peas and rice."

And he did and both of them sit down and eat. And when it was time for them to go, Brer Bookie didn't went. He say: "Mon, I got to stay and eat."

And Brer Rabbit went out and said: "My house, my house, go up so high." And the house went up.

And when it was time for the sperrits to come, they said: "My house, my house, come down so low." And they went in and said: "Someone has been in here."

They begin to cook peas and rice and salt, but when it was finish the sperrit give his little girl a pan full and she went by de bed to sit down and eat. Bookie had done hid under the bed from the sperrits.

Bookie say to her: "Gimme some, gimme some." And he beg and beg all from her.

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Merle Woods, see note above.

And she went and ax her father for more and the father give it to her, and he eat all that from the little girl. And she went and ax for more and her father say: "Your gut must be as a barrel, eh?"

After Bookie done eat all dat from her, she say: "I got two papa. One on top de bed and one underneath de bed."

Then de sperrit get a sea rod and beat him — Bookie — wid it. All de time the house going up, going up, and he t'row him out and broke Bookie neck.

Biddy, biddy bend,  
My story is end.  
Turn loose the rooster  
And hold the hen.

### 13. THE THREE SONS<sup>1</sup>

Once upon a time was a good old time,  
Monkey chew tobacco and spit white lime.

There was a man. He had three sons. One day he send the eldest out into the woods to feed the goat. And the son looked for the greenest place to feed the goat. And when he was ready to go home he axed de goat have he had sufficient and the goat said: "I had enough till I hardly can pull."

When the goat went home, the father axed the son if he give the goat a plenty of food. And the son said: "Yes, I have give it plenty." And the father axed the goat had he have enough and the goat said: "I hadn't hardly anything." So he beat that son out and drove him away.

And the next day he sent the other son wid de goat and the son looked for the greenest place to feed the goat. And when he was going home he axed the goat if he had sufficient and the goat said: "I had enough till I hardly could pull."

When the son went home the father asked if he give the goat plenty and he said: "I have give him enough till he said he hardly could pull." The father asked the goat if he had sufficient and he said: "I had hardly anything." And he beat that son and he stoned him away.

The next day he sent the last son and when the son went and looked for the best spot he could find. And when he was going home he axed the goat if he had sufficient and the goat said the same as he told the other two. When he got home the father asked the son, who said: "I gave the goat plenty so he hardly could pull." And when he asked the goat he said he hardly had anything. So he stoned that son out.

And the next day the father went and he looked for the best place and when he was coming home he axed the goat if he had sufficient and

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Merle Woods, see note above.



the goat said: "I had enough till I hardly could pull." And when he get home he axed the goat had he had enough and the goat said: "I hadn't hardly anything."

So he said: "You was the cause of my three sons not being here today," and he killed the goat and sent it away. And the eldest son was coming home then, and the man who he was working with give him a table. And he said, "This is not an ordinary table. Just as you say 'Table be covered' the table will have all kind of nice food on it."

When he come that night he stopped at the restaurant and then he begin to eat. He say to the landlord: "I could get better food then all of you all." Just as he say "Table be covered" the daintiest food come on and everybody wanted some, and he give everybody some. And after he lodged there that night, while he was asleep the landlord stole away his table and put his table there and when he wake up that morning, he didn't notice this table. He just take it up and went on and when he get home he told his father he have got a table can be covered with the best food. Just as I say: "Table be covered" the best food come on. So he called all the neighbors around and people was saying: "We won't have to eat no dinner at home then." So he said: "Table be covered," and nothing come on the table. He was shame and the people had to went back without anything. And the father said: "I have to take up my needle and thread again."

Next day the other son come. And when he was leaving his master give him a donkey and he told him: "This is not an ordinary donkey. Soon as you say 'brickle-a-brick,' piles of gold will come." So he came to the same restaurant. When he get his food he give the man a piece of gold he axed the boy where he get it. And he didn't say anything. He went outside and said "brickle-a-brick" and piles of gold came on the table cloth. And the landlord was peeping through a hole and he saw him, and after that he tied his donkey and that night he went to bed. While he was sleep the landlord went and stole his donkey and put his donkey in place. And next morning he didn't notice the donkey. He went home and told his father about his donkey and he called all the neighbors around. When the neighbors came he said "brickle-a-brick" and the donkey didn't do anything. And he was so shame and he wrote to the youngest brother and telling him what the landlord had stole from the two brothers.

So when the last son was leaving his master give a stick in the sack. He said: "This is not an ordinary stick. Just as you say 'Stick out the sack', it will jump out and beat up your enemies."

And when he come the landlord was watching this bag. When he went to bed he played sleep. The landlord went and take the bag away and the boy get up and say "stick out de sack" and the stick jumped out and beat up the man. He had to plead for mercy. The boy say: "Stick in de bag, if you promise to give me the two things you stole from my

brothers I'll have mercy on you." And he promise him that he will give back the table and the donkey. And he give it to him.

And he went home with all to his father and brothers and the father said: "At last I will put down my needle and thread."

Biddy, biddy, biddy, my story is ended  
I let go Dorothy and hold you.

#### 14. DOG AND BRER GOAT<sup>1</sup>

Once upon a time Brer Tiger and Mrs. Tiger invite all the creatures in the world to come to a party, but only Brer Dog and Brer Goat came.

So now Miss Tiger and Brer Tiger wanted them all to eat. So Miss Tiger and Brer dog begin to dance together. Brer Tiger began to sing: "Push him in the room door, oh, my wife, oh my, oh my wife." Brer dog switch his tail round and Miss Tiger could not get him in. So Brer dog sing this time and Miss Tiger and Brer goat dance. So Brer dog sing: "The man who can't run better go before [they] rig [up] plan."

So Brer goat ran away and went to the side of a river until Brer dog came. So Brer dog said: "I am going, Miss Tiger and Brer Tiger." They asked: "You going already?" He said, "Yes."

So they wait until he got a little way and they started behind him. So Brer Dog went and cover up Brer Goat, only leaving his horn and his hind feet out. So Brer Dog swim across in time.

Brer Tiger said: "Come here, Brer Dog, I got something to tell you good." (Min', Brer Tiger ain't got nothing to tell him — just want to eat him.)

So he said: "Throw me that log side your feet so I can swim over on it."

So Brer Tiger throw it to him. (In vain — it was Brer Goat.) Brer Dog and Brer Tiger said: "One time you had your fortune in your hand, but you lose it."

#### 15. THE DEVIL AND THE DAUGHTER<sup>2</sup>

Once upon a time was a good old time, the monkey chew tobacco and spit white lime.

Once upon a time the woman had one daughter and everytime she go out to pick berries for her and her daughter, and every time she come back she sing a sing:

Angelecky mammy die-er  
Blessed me coomby deer  
Sin sin barney a, brinna day.

Every time she hear her mother sing this she run down and open the door.

<sup>1</sup> Told by Dorothy Woods, fifteen years old, sister of above.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Edith Knowles, ten years old; in school.

So somebody tell the devil she got this pretty daughter in the house. She don't go out. So he send the white bird to learn this sing so he can get in.

And after that the white bird went and learn the sing and teach it to the devil, and after that he have to go hisself and sing. After the white bird tell de sing, de devil went to see if he could sing, but he voice too heavy and she don't let him in.

After he went to the blacksmith — axed him to chop off half his tongue. After the blacksmith chop it off it was still too long, it was still too heavy. He sent de white bird to sing and the white bird sing and the girl jump down and open the door and de devil take the girl on his back and went with her.

When the girl mother come she didn't meet her daughter and she start crying. And the berries whut she bring for her daughter all grow on her and she went peeping through de bushes growing on her body looking for her daughter. And when she went way through, her daughter servant was at the sea taking bath and she hear the mother sing and she went and tell the mistress and she mistress say: "Can you say a word whut you hear the lady sing?"

And she sing: "Angelecky mammy die-er."

De lady daughter run. She say it was her mother. She pull all de vine off her mother and she clean her all up. And she leave her mother there till she went home and pick up all her things and de devil had a witch rooster. And the rooster tell her: "You wash out your bloomers and sprinkle the water all over the grass." If she don't do dat de devil smell all their foot track and know where they went. So she did dat and they left. After they be gone, de devil come home. She had carried de devil rooster wid her.

Usually when de devil come home he crow and de rooster crow back. But when he come dat day de rooster don't crow, so he couldn't follow, 'cause she done took his witch rooster.

Biddy, biddy bend  
My story is end.

#### 16. WHY MULES HAVE NO COLTS<sup>1</sup>

Mules used to have colts like other animals, but on the day when Jesus started into Jerusalem, he first got on a mule, but the mule threw Christ and hurt him. Christ got up off the ground and cursed the mule, so they can't multiply like other animals. They have to get here the best way they can.

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Reuben Roker. About twenty-two. Laborer. "Knocks" the dance drums eloquently and sings.



17. WHY ALL ANIMALS LOOK DOWN<sup>1</sup>

Once all of the animals walked erect and looked forward as men do now. But after the snake seduced Eve, God fixed it so that all animals look down. So that they would know they were different from man.

18. WHY WOMEN TALK SO MUCH<sup>2</sup>

Well, when God made Adam and Eve in de garden, Eve was dumb. So Adam said to God: "Why God, dis woman is dumb. Dis woman can't talk. She is no service to me. I can't enjoy her, she has no tongue."

Just then a rabbit come up. God reached down and snapped de rabbit tail and put it in de woman mout'. The hair on de tail made her spit and she keep trying to spit de hair out. That is why she move her tongue so much.

19. THE TALL TALE<sup>3</sup>

Once there was a little boy who had the habit of telling very large stories. If he saw a squirrel in the woods he would come home and tell his father that he had seen something as big as a bear. If he kill two birds at a shot, he will boast that he has killed a couple of dozen. One day this boy came home and told his father that he have seen a big rat as big as an ox.

"Oh no," said the father, "not as big as an ox."

"Yes," said the boy, "as big as an ox."

"Well," the father said — no more.

But next day he and his son started out upon a joinery. They traveled on foot and soon come to a broad river.

"What stream is this?" asked the boy.

"It is a dangerous one for those who tell large stories," said the father.

"Come, my son, we must swim across it."

The boy began to shake his head as if he were ill.

"What the matter with you?" said the father.

"Why, I am thinking of that rat," said the boy.

"Well, what of the rat?"

"I don't think it was bigger than a sheep," said the youth.

At that time the water was coming up to his neck. He cried out: "Father, father, help, help, for I am going to drown."

Then the father said: "What about the rat?"

"Father," said the boy, "after all it was only a mouse."

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Harold Tinker. About twenty. Son of a woman who has a stall in the market. Very proficient dancer.

<sup>2</sup> Told in Miami, Florida, by Mrs. Vera Taylor, a Bahamian from Cat Island, one of the most primitive spots in the group. She had been in America six years.

<sup>3</sup> Told in Miami, by Guss Ramsey, a Bahamian laborer in his twenties. He had been two years in America.

20. MAN AND DE BOY<sup>1</sup>

A over-average size man he walked up to de boy and say: "Boy, whut is yo name?"

"My name is Sense-more-than-man, sir. Whut is yo name, sir?"

"My name is Man-more-than-boy."

He give the boy some money and sent him to the market. He told him to bring six cents worth of everything he could find and he says: "The last of all, bring me six cents worth of God damm. . . ." (gesture of slinging something distasteful from fingers).

Boy goes to market and get those things all right. When he comes back the man said: "Did you get those things?"

He had there prickly pears and he put 'em just midway of his basket. Now the boy stood at a distance while he is taking the things from the basket. When he got to these prickly pears he (makes gesture). The boy says: "Yessuh, that's it right now, sir."

Now then he sent him on another errand. He says: "Four o'clock in the morning I want you to go milk dat bull cause I want dat milk to put in my coffee."

He had a coconut palm right over his window had some coconut on it. De boy goes up, commence to pickin coconuts and drop 'em down on de ground.

Looked out de window, did the man: "Whut are you doin there?"

"My father had a birth and I am getting coconuts to give him some milk!"

"Whoever heard of a man having birth?"

"Whoever heard of a bull having milk?"

Now then the last errand. He give him three sacks of money and sent him off to buy some sheeps. He says: "Buy me some sheeps, but don't buy me no rams, don't buy me no ewes, don't buy me no lambs, but buy me some sheeps."

The boy written back to him. "I got yo sheeps. I cannot come. You will have to send for them. But don't send sunshine, don't send midnight, don't send midday, don't send twilight, don't send moonshine, don't send dark night. But send."

So he had "Sense-more-than-man."

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<sup>1</sup> Told in Miami, by Mr. Rolls, a Bahamian who has been in America twenty years.

# WARRI: A WEST AFRICAN GAME OF SKILL.<sup>1</sup>

HENRY R. MULLER.

In the days of slavery a very large number of our negro slaves were drawn from those parts of Africa where Mankala is now being played. In Nigeria it is generally called Warri, a name which may have some local connection with the city of Warri in Nigeria, although in and around Lagos, Nigeria, it is more often called by a name that sounds phonetically like "I-You." The origin of this word, too, is obscure, though it may have some relation to the pidgin English so commonly used in that part of the colony.

The author, while living in Nigeria for a year among the Yorubas, learned from them to play the game as described below. It is played purely for recreation by men, both young and old.

Any one who has played the game a few times soon is aware of the intricate problems that may arise. With each play the number of counters in many pockets changes. To play well, much prevision is required and many mathematical possibilities must be considered, and yet the author found by experience that the negro plays skilfully and is hard to beat. Like checkers, it is primarily a game of skill; chance is secondary when played by experienced players. "Warri" does not lend itself to cheating or gambling and the negro has other games more adapted to these propensities.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE GAME AND RULES FOR PLAYING.

1. The paraphernalia of the game consist of the "Warri board" and 48 "counters."
2. The board, carved out of a single rectangular block of wood, is generally 18" long, 6" wide and 2" thick. It has two parallel rows of 12 cup-shaped pockets, 6 pockets in a row. Each pocket is  $2\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter across the top and  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " deep at the center. The board may also, and generally does, have ornamental carvings.
3. The counters may be any approximately spherical objects, such as nuts or marbles, averaging  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. Since both players use the same counters, these 48 counters should, preferably, all be of a uniform color.
4. The number of players is limited to two, A and B, who sit facing each other across the board. Actually the pockets are not numbered, but for our purposes we can suppose that the pockets on A's side are numbered 1 to 6 from his left to right, and those on B's side are numbered 7 to 12 from B's left to right.

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<sup>1</sup> Mancala, the National Game of Africa, by Stewart Culin, Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1894, pp. 595—607, Washington, 1896.



5. Before beginning to play, four counters are placed in each of the 12 pockets.
6. The player winning the larger number of counters, according to the rules of play described below, wins the game.
7. The players always play alternately; no player ever plays twice in succession.
8. In the first game either player may open the game, but the second game and every game thereafter is opened by the player who won the preceding game.
9. The player A, opening the game, takes out *all* four counters from any one of the six pockets on *his* side of the board, and then drops, in sequence, one of these four counters into each of the four pockets immediately to the right of the pocket from which he removed the counters.

E. g., If A removes the four counters from pocket # 2, he places one in # 3, one in # 4, one in # 5 and one in # 6.

If, however, in the distribution of the counters he reaches the end of his row and he still has some counters left over in his hand, he continues the distribution of these in the pockets on his opponent's side, always distributing *in sequence and in a counterclockwise direction* as indicated by the direction of the arrows on the diagram.

E. g., If A removes the four counters from pocket # 5, he places one in # 6 (on his side) and one in each of # 7, # 8 and # 9, in this sequence, on his opponent's side.

10. The opposing player B now proceeds in the same way on his side of the board; i. e., he removes *all* the counters from any one of the six pockets on *his* side of the board and distributes these in sequence, one to each of the pockets situated immediately to the right of the pocket from which he removed them, and continues the distribution of those left over (if he should have reached pocket # 12 on his side), in pockets # 1, # 2, # 3 etc. on his opponent's side.
11. The players now continue playing alternately. A, when it is his turn to play, plays *all* the counters from *any one* of the pockets on *his side* of the board, and B in his turn, plays all the counters in any one of the pockets on his (B's) side.
- N. B. The distribution of the counters is always in sequence and in a counterclockwise direction, beginning with pocket immediately to the right of the one from which the counters were removed and continuing the distribution on the opponent's side when necessary, in a counterclockwise direction.
12. If the *last* counter distributed in sequence by an active player falls into a pocket on his *opponent's side*, and if by the addition of this counter the total number of counters in this pocket is now either

2 or 3, (i. e., if there were either 1 or 2 counters in that pocket originally), then the player removes from the board these 2 or 3 counters (as the case may be). These counters now remain permanently out of the game and form part of his winnings.

He also wins the contents of those pockets immediately preceding and in sequence with this pocket on his opponent's side which now also contain either 2 or 3 counters.

A player does not add to his winnings any counters in any pockets on his own side of the board.

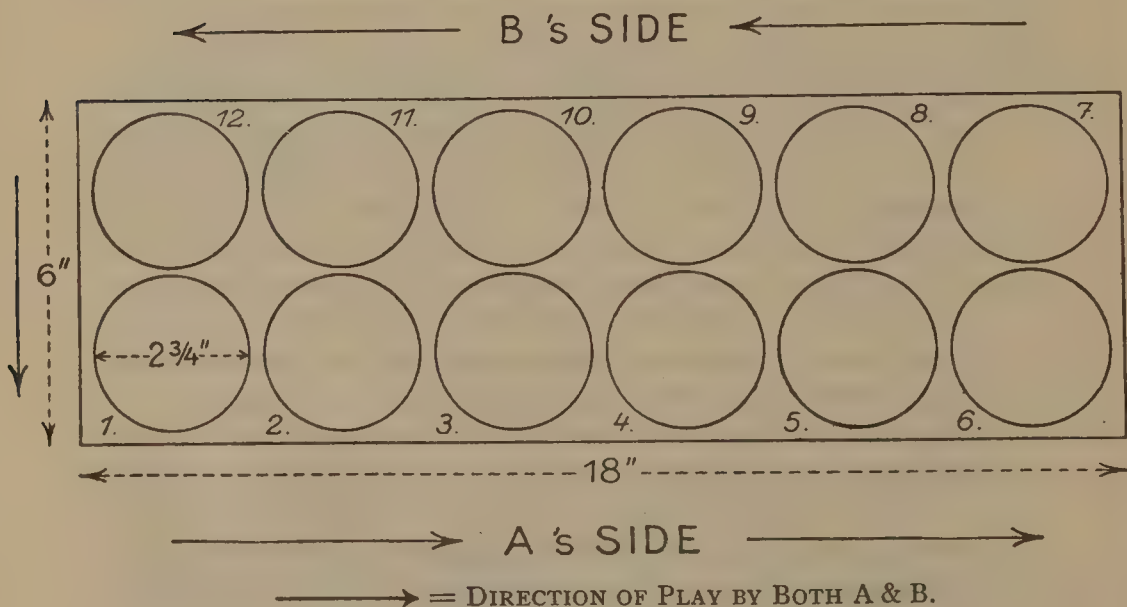
Examples:

- 1) Suppose on B's side, pockets # 9, # 10 and # 11 contain 1 or 2 counters each; pocket # 8 contains 3 or more, and pocket # 7 contains 1 or 2 counters. Then, if pocket # 3 on A's side contains 8 counters and A plays the contents of this pocket, he puts one counter, in sequence, into each of pockets # 4, # 5, # 6, # 7, # 8, # 9, # 10 and # 11. By thus dropping the last counter into a pocket (# 11) on his opponent's side containing originally 1 or 2 counters, the total number in this pocket has now become either 2 or 3. Likewise, the total number in each of pockets # 10 and # 9 has now also become either 2 or 3. The total in # 8 is now 4 or more, and the total in pocket # 7 is now 2 or 3. The player removes, therefore, the total contents of pockets # 9, # 10 and # 11 from the board and adds them to his winnings. He does not win the contents of pocket # 7, because the series of pockets with 2 or 3 in each is blocked by pocket # 8, which contains, after he played, 4 or more counters. Nor does he under any circumstances win the contents of any pocket on his side of the board which in the course of his play became equal to 2 or 3 in number.
- 2) Suppose pocket # 4 contains 17 counters and A chooses to play the contents of this pocket. He starts by putting one into # 5, then one into # 6, one into # 7 etc. up to and including pocket # 12. He then continues the distribution on his own side by putting one into # 1, one into # 2 and one into # 3. He then *skips* pocket # 4, the pocket from which he took the 17 counters he is now playing, and continues the distribution by placing one in # 5, one in # 6, and so on until the last counter is placed in pocket # 10. If now, after he has finished with the total distribution of the 17 counters, pocket # 10 (the pocket on his *opponent's* side with which he just now finished) contains either 2 or 3 counters, the player wins the contents of this pocket. He also wins the contents of those pockets on his opponent's side, preceding pocket # 10 and in series with it, which now also contain 2 or 3 counters but only up to the pocket which blocks the series of pockets with 2 or 3 counters. E. g., if # 10, # 9 and # 8 each

contain 2 or 3 counters, and # 7 contains 4 or more, he wins the total contents of # 10, # 9 and # 8 but not of # 7. Nor does he win the contents of any pockets following # 10 (i. e., # 11 or # 12) even though they may now contain 2 or 3 counters each. Of course, in this case as in every case he does not win the contents of any pocket on his own side, even though some of them may now contain 2 or 3 counters.

- 3) Suppose pockets # 6 and # 7 each contain one counter. If A plays # 6, putting it into # 7, he wins the counter originally in # 7 as well as the counter he took from # 6 to place in # 7 to make the total counters in # 7 equal 2.

13. When in the course of the game one player, e. g., A, has no counters left in any of the pockets on his side, then the other player, B, must play the contents of one of the pockets on his side which in the distribution will place a counter into each of one or more pockets on A's side. In this way A will again be enabled to play in his turn. If B, however, has the counters so distributed on his side that he cannot, by playing, put any into the pockets on A's side, the game ends and the player having the larger number of counters off the board, wins. But player B cannot claim as part of his winnings any of the counters still remaining on the board on his side.
14. At the end of the game there are always a few counters left on the board that cannot be won by either player. The number is generally 4 or 5. These are not counted towards the winnings of either player but are disregarded in the final count.





TALES AND RIDDLES FROM FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE<sup>1</sup>

BY DAVID BENJI MUDGE-PARIS

These stories and riddles were told at night as we sat around the fire. If any one went to sleep we would tickle him or stick a piece of paper in his mouth and light it up. In June, particularly, which is the rainiest month and the corn season, there would be a competition in riddling, with a prize of sweet corn and peanuts. The songs in the stories are sung with motions and to an accompaniment of clapping. Some things are told so naturally in some of the tales that our people believe they are true — such as the reason why there is a man in the moon, and why there are monkeys and apes.

## I. THE MAN IN THE MOON

In old days, it was in order that no man should work on Sunday; especially in a certain town was splitting wood on Sunday forbidden. A stranger, not knowing about this, took up his axe. As he was about to split some wood, down came the Moon and took him up. Hence people do not work on Sunday for fear of the Moon.

## 2. WHY THERE ARE MONKEYS

In old days, when people were forbidden to work on Sunday, some fishermen thought that the rule encroached on their time, and set sail to go fishing. A heavy storm arose and they lost their way. They saved themselves in an unknown place which was densely forested. Here there was no barber, they had no hair cut, nor shave. They had no clothes, and no food except fruits. They became very hairy for lack of a barber and a tailor.

3. WHY DOGS CAN SWIM (THE GIVE AWAY)<sup>2</sup>

Once a lion who was very hungry went out in search of food. He met Rabbit from whom he demanded food or his life. Said Rabbit, "I have nothing, but I am going to call Dog whom you can feed on." "Very well," said Lion. Poor Rabbit told Dog that he had found a great fortune on his way which he wished him to see. To this Dog agreed. They had not gone very far when Lion met them. Said Lion to Dog, "I can make

<sup>1</sup> This collection was written in 1923. The writer, David Benji Mudge-Paris, was then a two years student at Hampton Institute. His English rendering has been somewhat simplified by the editor. — E. C. P.

<sup>2</sup> In parenthesis is given the title by which variants of this tale are elsewhere known. For bibliographical note, see *MAFLS* 15, pt. 1:27, n. 1. — Ed.

a better meal of you". But Dog was sensible and told Lion he had a friend, Sheep, whom he was going to call. Dog went and did not come back. After some time, Lion heard that Dog had built himself a nice hut by a lake, and was a fisherman. One evening, Lion broke open Dog's house and hid himself inside, but a cock who was Dog's neighbor, had crowed the news to Dog who was on the other side of the lake. In the evening when Dog came near the landing, he thought he would make sure of the news, and so he called to the hut as if he had been used to doing so. "House! House!" No answer. Lion said not a word. "House! House!" Dog called again, "I thought you used to answer me every day." Lion was deceived and answered, "Hey! I am here." Dog was so scared that he fell overboard. Hence dogs know how to swim.

#### 4. DO NOT FOOL PEOPLE

Once there lived a poor man who by hard working accumulated just enough to keep him going. He wished to make his neighbors think he was a rich man with a servant to wait on him; so he would shout, "John, bring me that," or "John, go to the store," and in another tone he would pretend to answer, so that his neighbors might think he really had a servant. But they were puzzled, as no one was ever seen. One day after he had sent his pretended servant to get some wood and bread for breakfast, a very inquisitive friend paid him a visit. To make time, he went on telling his visitor how dutiful his servant was, — for over three hours. From time to time the neighbor would ask him when his boy would come and he would reply, "Pretty soon, maybe the store is crowded." Finally the man got so hungry he had to confess that he did not have any boy but was trying to fool people.

#### 5. WHY SHEEP CRY ALL THEIR LIFE<sup>1</sup>

One day there lived in a village a sheep and her young ones. Whenever she went out, she would close her children in the house, paint her feet with whitewash, and give a special call for her children to know her by. A wolf went one day just after the mother sheep had gone out and, not doubting that his voice would betray him, called as would Mother Sheep. The children replied that the feet looked like their mother's but the voice did not sound so. Then Wolf went to a blacksmith shop where he had them put a piece of hot iron in his throat. On his return to the Sheep's house, his voice was still too harsh to deceive the young ones. So he stuck a piece of bone in his throat to choke him into screaming. . . . Thus Mother Sheep lost her children and went about all her life crying for them.

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<sup>1</sup> For bibliographical note, see *MAFLS* 15, pt. 1:21, n. 1.

6. CUNNY RABBIT TRICKS THE ANIMALS (FEASTING ON THEIR MOTHERS)<sup>1</sup>

One day, when there was famine in the land, Tortoise suggested that they should feast on their mothers who had become old and did not have long to live. Then Rabbit went and hid his mother up a tree, and told Tortoise he agreed to the proposal. All the beasts, too, agreed, and so they started feasting on their mothers. When it came Rabbit's time to produce his mother, he told them his mother had died a few days before and that his mind was troubled. Enraged, all the animals went after him, but could not reach him before he went into his hole. From fear of being caught, he would always run into his hole at the least crack of a stick, which he took for one of the animals.

## 7. NEVER BE STRONGHEADED

Once there lived a poor woman who had an only son who was very strong headed. One evening, his mother told him to stay at home and not go out doors lest he see an evil spirit. The boy said, "Yes," and meant no. He dodged outdoors, and he had not gone very far when he met a river-devil who was said to be stealing all the small children of that town whenever they went out swimming. The devil in a rage spoke to him and said, "Who is you? What t' in' you want nar my country?" The boy said in great fear, "I am my mother's only son, and as I have a strong head, I want trouble." "Well," said the devil, "I am going to give you trouble, you are going to be my slave." When the boy reached the devil's house, he told him he was going to treat him well and free him after three days of obedience to his orders. He then gave him three grains of rice and a dry bone to prepare for both of them. The boy was surprised to find that instead of three grains of rice and a bone, he had a whole pot of meat and rice. The boy got on fine for the first two days, but on the third day he became so obnoxious that when the devil told him to cook, he even told him it was his own turn to cook. In a rage, the devil, who was very hungry, swallowed him. If he had not been strong headed, he would not have lost his life.

## 8. THE SONS OF HAND

The five fingers are the five sons of a certain woman called Hand. One day, when their mother went out, Thumb who was the oldest told them that they should steal some of the cheese and bread which their mother had left in the cupboard. All agreed except Second Finger. When their mother came home, she asked who had stolen the cheese. No one admitted it, so she finally decided she was going to have them each jump into a flaming fire and in proportion as they had eaten of the cheese, they would lose their strength and body. Thus she discovered that all

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<sup>1</sup> Compare *Fortune Island*. Bahamas, JAFI, 30:228.



but Second Finger had stolen the cheese and eaten of it. And so in honor of his honesty they surrounded Second Finger and whenever they went abroad would see to it that he was in the center.

#### 9. RABBIT AND SHEEP (TAR BABY)<sup>1</sup>

Once when there was famine in the land, a certain king ordered that no one should trespass against his farm and orchard else he would lose his life, and also commanded that an image of cold tar should be made in the form of a black police. Rabbit who had not the least idea how things were went one night to steal, and after stealing some sweet potatoes, he perceived some body whom he thought had come to steal, too. Up he went to the one he thought was a thief and with a harsh voice said, "What you want in my farm?" and forthwith gave him a slap on the face. He found that the tar had got hold of his hand. "Do you think I have no oder 'and?" He gave him another slap. "Do you think I have no foots?" He kicked him with both feet. Now he was caught and had to wait for daybreak. At about four in the morning, he saw poor Sheep crossing on the other side of the road, and called him to his assistance, promising to share the stolen goods with him if only he would throw a bucket of water on him. This Sheep did, but no sooner had Rabbit been freed than he went and told the king that he had caught Sheep stealing. Poor Sheep who had not the least notion of what had happened went home and told his wife that he had been invited to dinner with Rabbit, and that Rabbit promised him some sweet potatoes. In the afternoon, when Sheep went to the dinner, Rabbit put a large and very sharp pointed bone on the side where Sheep was going to eat. In those days, people ate with their hands, and from the same dish. As Sheep was very hungry, he took the bone and swallowed it and although he tried to get rid of it, he could not, he could not even speak. Thereupon Rabbit told him that the king wished to see him in court. Poor Sheep went to court and listened to the king's verdict. As he could not speak in self-defence, the king killed him. Rabbit begged the king for his hide from which to make a drum. His famous song was:

If I was not cunning,  
I would never be.

#### RIDDLES

Water stands.

Sugar cane<sup>2</sup>

I have two brothers and sisters and can not see either of them.

Ears and eyes

<sup>1</sup> See Folk-Lore 30:227 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In the French West Indies riddling almost always begins with this riddle. — E. C. P.

Negro falls and bruises his nose.

Plum

My father has a garden with white fences around and a red cow in the center.

Mouth, teeth and tongue

My father feeds us at the beginning of the month with a quarter loaf of bread, and at the middle, with a loaf.

Moon

Look at me, but touch me not.

Fire

Young men live, the old die.

Leaves

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## SPIRITUALS FROM ALABAMA

## NOAH

They called Old Noah a foolish man  
Because he built his house on sandy land.

## Chorus:

Oh, Noah, open your window,  
Oh, Noah, open your window,  
Oh, Noah, open your window  
And let the dove come in.

The first thing they tell me that Noah did,  
He went in the woods and sawed his timber down.  
The second thing they tell me that Noah did,  
He hewed his timber round and round.  
The third thing they tell me that Noah did,  
He haul his timber to the building ground.  
The fourth thing they tell me that Noah did,  
He laid his foundation on the ground.

That ain't all, let me tell you some more.  
It rained forty days and forty nights.  
The water came to the steps of the doors  
The water came to the roof of the houses.  
Noah called a little dove,  
Told him go bring me a grain of sand.  
The dove flew back mourn,  
"Lord, I can't find no land."

That ain't all, let me tell you some more.  
God sent Jonah to the needed land.  
Jonah ran away.  
The captain of the ship got troubled in mind.  
He searched his from bottom to top,  
He searched his from side to side,  
Found old Jonah and cast him over board  
A big fish came along and swallowed him whole.

That ain't all, let me tell you some more.  
Jacob's ladder was long and tall,  
Reach all around to the heavenly walls.



Two bright angels came stepping down,  
Dress' so neat and so complete,  
Not a single stitch nor a sign of a seam.  
This was made on the gospel machine.

IF YOU JUST HOLD OUT

If you just hold out,  
If you just hold out,  
If you just hold out,  
It's a starry crown,  
It's a starry crown for you.

If you just hold out,  
If you just hold out,  
If you just hold out,  
It's a gold waist band,  
It's a gold waist band for you.

If you just hold out,  
If you just hold out,  
If you just hold out,  
It's a long white robe,  
It's a long white robe for you.

If you just hold out,  
If you just hold out,  
If you just hold out,  
It's a star in your crown,  
It's a star in your crown for you.

SUNDAY

Don't you hammer on Sunday,  
That's a shame.  
Don't you gamble on Sunday,  
That's a shame.

God gave you Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday,  
And all day Saturday, [Thursday, Friday,  
That's a shame.

Don't you sew on Sunday,  
That's a shame.  
Don't you dance on Sunday,  
That's a shame.

## THE BEAUTIFUL PEARLY GATES

We are pilgrims to the beautiful pearly gates.  
 Over those ransom pearly gates  
 Some pearly gates,  
 Some pearly gates.

I want to go to Heaven,  
 I want to go right,  
 I want to go there all dressed in white.  
 If you get there before I do  
 Just tell my Lord that I am coming, too.

Old Jordan river is chilly and cold,  
 It chills the body, but not the soul.  
 Sometimes I'm up,  
 Sometimes I'm down,  
 Sometimes I'm almost level with the ground.

One day as I was walking along,  
 The elements open and the love came.

## BEULAH LAND

I am dwelling on the mountain  
 That seem so bright to me.  
 I am feasting at the fountain  
 That never shall run dry.  
 O, yes, I am dwelling at the mountain  
 That everyone goes to see.  
 I am dwelling in Beulah land.  
 I am on my golden way  
 For this grand O Beulah day.

CLEMMIE S. TERRELL

Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

PROVERBS FROM BARBADOS AND THE BAHAMAS. Proverbs 1 and 2, I heard in Barbados. Proverbs 3 to 6 were written by C. H. Reeves of Andros Island, Bahamas, and Proverbs 7 to 12 by H. H. Finlay of Bannerman Town, Eleuthera.

1. It tek (take) a red whip to lick a black horse.
2. A old stick of fire don't take long to catch.
3. Good sense beat obeah.
4. Good nature make nanny goat tail short.  
 (With this you might refuse a favor of you.)
5. T'ief f'om t'ief make God smile.
6. Every dawg got his day, and every cat, his three Sundays.

7. Coward dog keep whole bone.
8. Don't trow away dirty water until you get clean one.
9. Tight shoes pinch feet.
10. Rat never keep Christmas wey (where) cat dey (there).
11. Take time you find Aunt Gout.
12. An old slave was one day caught in his master's field. In defence he said, "Thief from marsar (master) dar (that) nor (ain't) thief, but thief from stranger dar (that) are thief." He was set free.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

New York City.

OLD SIGNS IN ALABAMA.<sup>1</sup> If you trim your nails on Sunday, you will be sick before the next Sunday.

If you kill a screech owl, some of your kins-folks will die in twelve months.

If you kill a frog, Massa cow will die.

If your plow trace come unhitched at night while you are turning your mule at the end to take out, you will never live to hitch it again.

If you sweep trash out the door at night, it is a sign Massa gwine to sell you.

If you sneeze on Sunday, the devil will have you all the week.

If your left eye jump, you are going to laugh.

If your right eye jump, you are going to cry.

The first dove you hear mourn in the new year, if you are going up the hill, you will have good luck all the year; if you are going down the hill, you will have bad luck all the year.

To see the new moon throught tree tops or over the left shoulder is bad luck during that moon.

If you have started anywhere and turn back to avoid bad luck, make a cross mark on the ground and pull a stran' of hair out of your head and throw it the way you was going.

If you bring an axe or hoe or spade in the house on your shoulder, some of the family will die soon.

If you sneeze at table, it is a sign of death in the family.

If a coal of fire pop and fall in your lap, take it up and hold it in your right pocket till it goes out, you will be sure to get some money soon.

If you are going anywhere and a rabbit crosses you, to avoid bad luck make a cross mark and take three steps backwards and turn around to your right and spit on the ground.

If you see a whirlwind come towards your house, it is a sign of trouble.

If the whirlwind goes towards the branch or any water, it is a sign of rain.

<sup>1</sup> Contributed from the files of the Folklore Society of Hampton Institute.



If you have white pease and hog jaw for dinner on New Year day, you will have good luck all the year.

N. F. WOODALL.

Society Hill, Alabama.

#### RING GAMES AND JINGLES IN BARBADOS.

- I. Sissie in the band and the raree.  
 Pretty little coveredled you ever did see.  
 Stay back yard, don't come near me.  
 All those sassy worde you sayin'  
 Bands, bands, your hands are on me.  
 Say, little Sissie, wontcher marry me?

The player in the center of the ring chooses one standing in the ring.

2. Up the streets  
 And down the streets  
 A merry young girl.  
 I saw Ma'y Belle was a nice young girl.  
 Ma'y Belle, Ma'y Belle,  
 Made a pudding was so nice and sweet.  
 Ma'y Belle take a knife and she taste a piece.  
 Love taste, love taste,  
 And she sha'n't taste peace.  
 And the same Sunday morning  
 Will be Ma'y Belle wedding day.  
 And they hug her and they kisses her  
 An' they put her cross my knee.  
 An' the same Sunday morning  
 Will be Ma'y Belle's wedding day.

Two players sing:

There came two spansks from out of Spain.  
 I came to court your daughter Jane.

Line sings:

Your daughter Jane she is too young  
 To be controlled by such a man (one).

Two players sing:

I go away, I go away,  
 Perhaps I come some other day.

Line sings:

Come back, come back!  
 Your coat is wide  
 And tell the one that you love best.

Two players sing:

The fairest one that I do see  
Is Daphne there, come on to me!

Two players advance hand in hand to the line of players and after the exchange of songs they chose one in the line by name i. e. Daphne. Then the three players advance, etc.

3. Seven Jews arrivin', arrivin', arrivin'  
Around the Darmee<sup>1</sup> Sea  
What do you wish for, wish for, wish for,  
What do you wish for  
Around the Darmee Sea?  
My wish is to marry you, to marry you,  
Around the Darmee Sea.  
Oh you are not my color, my color  
Around the Darmee Sea.  
Hug and kiss your partner, your partner  
Hug and kiss your partner  
Around the Darmee Sea.  
Oh! let's dance for a wedding a wedding, a wedding  
Around the Darmee Sea.
4. Come see this pretty little girl of mine.  
She brought me many a bottle of wine.  
The bottle of wine she brought me two.  
Come see what my little girl can do.  
Right down to the cabin you must go  
Where the grass go round your feet.  
Stan' up straight upon your knees  
And show me the one that you love best.  
The fairest one that I love best  
Is Gertrude there, come on to me.
5. John belly mama  
My coco my mama me raree  
John belly mama  
He swell like a pertatur.  
Cse y Sally bring grass and hay  
Come down when I call you,  
Come down wid Johnnie,  
Everybody in shoes and stocking.

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<sup>1</sup> Ba<sup>l</sup>my.

6. Birds love sunshine.  
Flowers love jew (dew).  
Heaven love dem all,  
And I love you.
7. She sells sea shells on de sea shore  
Then if she sells sea shells on the sea shore  
Then I'm sure she sells seashore shells.  
How many shes in that?
8. Steal not this book and let it roam  
Give it a cuff and send it home.
9. Too vex you are,  
Too vex you be,  
You are, you are, too vex for me.
10. Sittin' in a corner  
On a Sunday eve  
With the fairy finger  
Restin' on your sleeve.  
Starlight eyes are castin'  
On your face dee light.  
Bless me, ain't it pleasant  
Sparklin' Sunday night.  
Kiss me, ain't it pleasant  
Sparklin' Sunday night.
11. Remember well  
And keep in mind  
A faithful friend  
Is hard to find.  
And when you find one  
Good and true  
Never give up the old for the new.
12. The rose is red  
The violet blue  
Carnation sweet  
And so are you.  
If you love me  
As I love you  
Nothing but death  
Shall depart us two.



13. Fish in the market  
 Ten for the bit.  
 If you don't like it,  
 Hawk and spit.  
 Beef in the market  
 Marry (marrow) and bone,  
 If you don't like it.  
 Leave it alone.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

New York City.

A THIRD EUROPEAN VERSION OF THE TAR-BABY STORY. — In my extensive article published in the last issue of this journal, *Notes on the Origin and History of the Tar-Baby Story*, vol. XLIII, p. 129 ff., and also in the special article, *European Versions of the Tar-Baby Story*, published in *Folk-Lore*, vol. XL, 219—227, I have called attention to two very remarkable European versions of the tar-baby story, one from Spain, my *Cuentos populares españoles* 35, and the other one from Lithuania, Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen*, etc., pp. 35—37. Both of these European versions are similar to the *Jataka* 55 version from Old India in the fact that a human being and not an animal is caught by means of a tar-man, tarred horse or tarred giant. On the evidence obtained from the existence and the complete form of these two European versions I have strengthened my former views concerning the India-European source of the Hispanic-American and other American versions of the tale.

But at the very moment when I was studying my materials and hoping that other European versions, especially from Spain, might be found to give additional evidence for my views, there had already appeared a third version which had escaped my attention. In view of the fact that the Lithuanian version of Schleicher had appeared in print in 1857 and remained unnoticed by students of the tar-baby story until one of my research assistants discovered it for me two years ago I ventured to suggest in my article in this journal that it would be well to look for other European versions of this story in the libraries of Europe. That my suggestion was well founded is proven by the fact that a book published in Spain in 1925 and which I had read as soon as it appeared contains a third version of the tar-baby story that had escaped my attention until I saw a complete outline of it in Boggs' excellent and timely *Index of Spanish Folktales*, *FF Communications* 90, p. 77. The new European tar-baby story appears at the end of a version of the magic ring, tale number 189 of the *Cuentos asturianos* of the distinguished Spanish folklorist Aurelio Llano Roza de Ampudia.

This second peninsular Spanish version from Asturias begins like my Castilian version with the incidents of the extraordinarily precocious and strong youth, Strong John, Aarne-Thompson 650, Grimm 90, etc. On account of his enormous appetite he leaves home and goes in search of adventure. From this point the confusion with the tale of the magic ring begins. The hero falls in love with a princess, the king demands certain tasks, and with the aid of a magic ring that is given to him by a lady he chances to meet on the

road he succeeds in performing the tasks. With the aid of the ring he transforms himself into a bird at will.

Tired of serving the king, with the aid of his magic ring, he departs to another kingdom accompanied by the princess, whom he marries. The king wishes to get rid of him and advises the king of the other kingdom to kill him. This incident connects the story again with my version 35 from Castile, where the king sends his valiant knights to try to kill Sampson. At this point the tar-baby episode begins, and this important part of the tale I give below in English translation:

The princess came and they departed together, and they were married in another kingdom. The father of the princess then wrote to the king of that country ordering him to kill John and a Half, but warned him to be very careful because he was the bravest soldier in the world. That king then called together all the shoemakers of the city and ordered them to make a large tar-man and to place it on the sea-shore in such a way that the rising tide would cover it. The shoemakers made the tar-man and placed it on the sea-shore, held down with stakes that stuck through the feet.

The king then called John and a Half and said to him, — "Is it true that you have never found a man as brave as yourself?" "Never." "Well, here is a man who wants to fight with you." "Where is he? Let him come forth at once, and let the soldiers be present, because I wish to fight with that brave man in their presence."

John and a Half then gave his ring to the princess and started for the sea-shore. The king awaited him there with his troops and as soon as he arrived he said to him, — "There is the man who is going to fight with you." The tide was already rising, reaching up to the tar-man's knees. John and a Half approached the tar-man and said to him, — "Are you the bravest man in the kingdom?"

And he gave him a blow on the face and his hand stuck to it. He repeated the blow with his other hand and that stuck also. He then gave him a terrible push in the stomach with his knee. Then both fell into the water and the waves carried them away.

The princess rubbed the ring and said, — "With my father!" And she returned to her kingdom.

Here we have, then, another European version of the tar-baby story. It is true that the version is incomplete but it has enough of the baustein of the tale to satisfy the demands of the most skeptical folklorist with respect to its fundamental type. It has the initial incident of how the tar-man was made and placed on the sea-shore, the initial greeting, the failure to reply, and the incomplete but well defined multiple attack and catch. The element of the battle being waged in the water and the waves carrying away both the attacker and the tar-man is a special feature of the Asturian tale.

With this new European version of the tar-baby story the geographical diffusion of the tale in Europe is enlarged; Central and Northern Spain, and Lithuania. And, as additional European versions are found the evidence for the India source of the tale increases, especially if these have characteristics, as in the present case, that link it with the Old India versions on the one hand and with the other European versions on the other hand. We now have three European versions of the tar-baby story. More will be found in the future, I am sure.

The Asturian version is attached to another tale as is the case with the other two European versions. Although the beginning is similar to the Castilian version the tale as a whole is a confused version of the magic ring. In the study of this tale made by Aarne in *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*, Helsingfors, 1908, pp. 78—82, he has come to the definite conclusion that it is of Oriental source, probably India. In the Asturian version, therefore, we have another case of the tar-baby episode attached to another Oriental tale as in the case of the Cape Verde version found by Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons that is attached to the Oriental tale of the master-thief. That all three of the now-known European versions of the tar-baby story should be attached to other tales, however, is extraordinary. This, it seems to me, can be explained only by supposing that the tar-baby story, developed and well-known in Ancient India, passed to Europe, especially Spain, in very early times, probably as early as the eighth century with the oral traditions of the Arabs, and that after the tale passed from Spain to America and Africa it was almost forgotten in Spain itself. The presence of the tale in Lithuania, however, makes the problem of the transmission of the tale from India to Europe much more complicated.

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AURELIO M. ESPINOSA.



## BOOK REVIEWS.

BLACK ROADWAYS, A STUDY OF JAMAICAN FOLK-LIFE, by Martha Warren Beckwith. Chapel Hill, 1929. University of North Carolina Press. \$ 3.00

Although certain phases of the life of the New World Negroes, especially their folk-lore and religious practises, have been subjected to intensive study, the general outlines of their cultural behavior have rarely received any attention at all. Such beginnings in this direction as have been made have been submerged in the general assumption that practically all aboriginal African traits of culture have been stamped out by the repressions of slavery. So widespread is this assumption that today it is taken for granted by almost all students of the Negro, and it furnishes the basis for the subsidiary hypothesis that we must look to Europe of the late seventeenth century, rather than to Africa, for the sources from which the present-day behavior of the New World Negroes derives, — to Elizabethan England, for example, when the Negroes of the United States and the English-speaking colonies of the Caribbean Sea are being considered.

To what extent is the assumption justified? The answer to this question can only be vouchsafed us after long research, but I am convinced that the prevailing concept will be strikingly modified as further investigation is carried on. The value of Miss Beckwith's book lies in the fact that in giving us an ethnological account of the life of the Jamaican Negroes, it sets us upon a path of re-examination of this hypothesis that should lead to a new concept of the number of Africanisms which the New World Negroes have preserved.

The African elements in the culture Miss Beckwith describes are many. A dance is a "play," as it is in Africa, trees have their tutelary spirits that make them good or bad; rum is used sacramentally as it is in the parent country; there are numerous ceremonies that are either actual elements in the West African fertility cult or imply strong survivals, water-spirits are reserved for pools and rivers, and not the sea, — such Africanisms meet the reader in the opening pages. As one gets farther into the material, they crowd more thickly. The whole spirit of family solidarity recalls African life, a solidarity, that, as in Africa, includes not only the living but the dead, who become the protecting ancestral spirits of those who survive. The Jamaican's individual food is characteristic of Africa; the etiquette which occurs when a visit takes place and the importance of not going hastily into the house of another, are none the less so. The term "duppy," for ghost, comes straight from Africa, and so do the beliefs concerning him, which are numerous. As

in Africa, a child is lifted across a coffin of a dead parent; as in Africa, the body is raised and lowered three times before finally being rested in its coffin; as in Africa, it is dangerous, in washing a corpse, to bathe the back. Familiar to the Africanist is the indication given by the coffin of the deceased as to who has harmed him, equally familiar the injunction that an odd, and not an even, number of men must dig the grave. The precautions to guard against the return of the ghost, and the means of wrapping the body so that the ghost may be recognised if he walks abroad, are just as familiar, as is almost all of the information which deals with evil magic, and the importance of a sorcerer's being able to control a spirit of some dead person to work his spells.

I might thus follow Miss Beckwith's book through to the end, and fill pages with parallels that are to be gained from it, parallels that are sufficiently definite so that the Africanist would not merely conclude that many of the traits of behavior were African, but would be able to state "This is Ashanti," or "That is Yoruban."

That this was not Miss Beckwith's purpose in presenting her data, does not in any manner make her book the less valuable. As a matter of fact, what she gives us here is the first ethnographic study of the life of any New World Negro people which, to my knowledge, has been attempted. She tries to see the culture of the Jamaicans as a whole, and she describes it as a unit as she would describe the culture of any distinct people. If there are defects in the treatment, they are the defects of a first study. One might wish for a better picture of the people themselves as individuals and not so much generalisation as to what "they" do; one might desire more attention to the aberrations from the accepted patterns of conduct as well as descriptions of those patterns. Yet when one has finished the book, a fair comprehension of the manner of life of the Jamaican Negroes has been gained, and it is one that includes something of their material existence as well as their religious beliefs, of their techniques and economic life as well as their folk-lore and their relations with the world of the dead.

Miss Beckwith's work, furthermore, stimulates questions that, in the search for their answers, force one to a consideration of the neighboring Negro peoples of the New World, and thus lead the way toward the examination of yet another major problem, the question of the unity of New World Negro culture.

As an instance of this sort of query, one might consider the term *Kromanti*, a word that occurs again and again in the book. What is *Kromanti*? In her account, she gives us a number of facts concerning it. We learn (p. 143) that "the *Kromanti* rebellion in 1760 was instigated by men who sold medicines to make men invulnerable." The *Kromanti* is associated most closely with the Maroons, a semi-independent people who in early times fought their way to freedom and forced the British to treat with them. These people, "probably" are composed "in large

part of the Kromanti stock to whom the Maroons today refer their tradition." The pact by which these Maroons were recognised in their freedom "was drunk in the old Kromanti fashion by the leaders' on both sides cutting their arms and letting their blood flow into a bowl whose contents was mixed with rum," (p. 185), although this was related to Miss Beckwith as tradition and is not corroborated by contemporary accounts.

"The Maroons," one reads (p. 191), "know 'stronger obeah' than any other group; they are most cunning in herb magic; they command a secret tongue (the so-called Kromanti), and they know song in this speech 'strong enough to bewitch anybody'." On the same page, Miss Beckwith states that "I was told that the Accompong Maroons had a doll figure called 'Yumma' which . . . represented old Nanny, 'Queen' of the Maroons, at the time of their first treaty with the whites. Rowsaid that no bullets could touch their men during the conflict because old Nanny stood with her back toward the enemy, and, attracting all the balls to herself, caught them between her thighs just as boys sometimes catch a ball." Following this is a "Kromanti Death Song," and still farther on (p. 194) we read of the horn and the gombay drum, each with its secret name that her informant would not divulge to Miss Beckwith. Finally, (p. 211) we are given an early impression of the Kromanti music, characterised as "the most melancholy that I ever remember to have heard," the high notes "uncommonly wild, but yet sweet," and the lower "deep, majestic, impressive."

Dr. Williams<sup>1</sup> has derived the term Kromanti (or Coromantee, as the earlier records have it), from the African Ashanti people. Whether or not his reasoning is entirely tenable, the fact that there was an important kingdom on the Gold Coast of West Africa named Coromantyne, and that many slaves were drawn from that region, is suggestive. But this does not answer the question of the significance of the Kromanti in present-day Jamaica, and to solve the puzzle we must turn, I believe, to the culture of another New World Negro group, to that of the Bush-Negroes of Dutch Guiana. Today these people, living isolated in the deep interior of the colony, possess a culture almost as purely African as was that of their forefathers who escaped from slavery as early as 1650. That they come from the same regions of Africa as the other New World Negroes is a proposition which I believe is capable of ample proof, although this is not the place for the presentation of the evidence. Suffice it to say that they have the tradition of deriving from the Ashanti, that Dahomé is the name of one of their sacred cities, that the name of one of their clans, the Anago, is ample indication of their Yoruban derivation. They retain the same religious systems and names of deities as do their parental African groups and their language, at present a jargon,

<sup>1</sup> Williams, J. J. "Hebrewisms of West Africa," New York, 1930. Chap. I.



is full of words directly traceable to the languages of the people their traditions claim as ancestral. In the culture of these people we find that Kromanti is of major importance.

To give the simplest outlines of the cult, Kromanti is spiritual force which protects a man in danger and assures him that no bullet can penetrate his body, that no pointed or jagged thing can macerate his flesh. The Kromanti men are fighters, and their obia, when they are possessed by it, is "ugly," and "strong," to use native terms that would be instantly understandable to any Jamaican Negro. The "Kromanti tongo" is the secret language of these warriors, and they shout their cries in it when they are possessed, and, without translating, will speak it into a phonograph horn.

Thus, point for point, as Miss Beckwith describes the Jamaican Kromanti, I recognise the Bush-Negro Kromanti. The "Kromanti stock" from which the Maroons have descended is Gold Coast, especially Ashanti stock, for the Ashanti, called Kromanti in the New World, were always the ring-leaders in slave insurrections and were noted for their bravery and fearlessness. The Maroon town "Accompong" derives its name from the name of the Ashanti god Nyankompong, who is the Great God of the present-day Bush-Negroes, if not from the Gold Coast town of Akropon which exists to the present. The Kromanti pact of drinking mingled blood and rum with a former enemy is known in Dutch Guiana, for it was this ceremony that sealed one of the treaties between the Bush-Negroes and the whites. "Kromanti obia is stronger than all other obia," says the Bush-Negro, and this, too corresponds to Miss Beckwith's account. The Kromanti songs which were recorded in the Suriname Bush are not very different in musical structure from the Jamaican one given us, nor is the general effect of the words essentially dissimilar from those reproduced in Miss Beckwith's book. As in Jamaica, the Bush-Negro Kromanti drum has a secret name, this name, significantly enough, being "Asante Kogbwa," the "Ashanti drum." Finally, there is, even in the culture of the Bush-Negroes, the parallel to the Nanny of the Jamaican Maroons. "Nanny," I imagine, is derived from the Ewe word "Nana" used to this day by the Bush-Negroes in its aboriginal significance of "ancestress," and the same Ashanti term, which means "grandfather," and the figure mentioned in Miss Beckwith's account is to be understood in the light of the Bush-Negro "Kromanti Mama," one of the most sacred objects possessed by these people. It is a modelled human form, and its function is strangely like that of the Jamaican "Nanny," for it knows when danger is about and warns the Kromanti men of what threatens them. Before the men go out to fight, each places the Kromanti Mama on his head and sits on the stool on which she rests, and by doing so, each warrior places himself under her protection.

If I have discussed the Kromanti at some length, it is because this term has long puzzled students of the New World Negro. Always used

to refer to a type of slave, it seemed strange that it had no parallel among African tribal names. Yet we find that it has not only become a New World term for Ashanti Negroes, but has retained a spiritual significance which derives from Africa, and through a discussion of it we can see the more clearly how Miss Beckwith's data assume a starting-point for a tying together of New World Negro cultures. One might indicate correspondences on other traits as well, both between Jamaica and the remaining islands, between Jamaica and the Guianas, and between Jamaica and the United States. But enough has been said to show how Miss Beckwith's data provide a link in the chain of evidence that, considered point by point, must lead to an understanding of how the original cultural traits of the African slaves were retained in part, and in part changed, by contact with the various groups of European masters.

One cannot, however, discuss Miss Beckwith's book and neglect to point out interpretations of various aspects of Jamaican Negro culture that differ from those given by her. In the main these arise from her lack of familiarity with the African literature, as well as from her failure to relate her data to known information from other New World Negro groups<sup>1</sup>. We may take, for instance, the matter of the "day-name." As is well known, day-names come to children at birth, for of these there are two sets of seven each, one for boys and one for girls. The names themselves, as Miss Beckwith tells us, are the same as those on the Gold Coast, and they seem to be very deep-rooted, for they are practically unchanged wherever they are found, persisting even in the United States, as witness such a well-known name as "Cuffee." Miss Beckwith says (p. 59) that "these names are generally known, but I could not discover that they were actually used today. Old Hannah French said the sorcerers employed them in 'setting obeah.' They are played with in literary composition or in teasing competitions, and it would seem as if the hesitation of some to have their 'day-names' known had no other motive than a dislike of nicknames."

We can again turn to the practise of the Bush-Negroes, one for which there are numerous African parallels recorded, to see whether the Jamaican attitude toward having a day-name generally known cannot be otherwise accounted for. In Dutch Guiana, the day-name is sacred, and is never spoken by a person unless he is under possession by the spirits which communicate through him, or unless he is consulting a diviner. As in Jamaica, it is this day-name, known also in Suriname as the "Kra" or "soul-name," that the sorcerer calls when working black magic against its bearer. And it is this very definite reason, I suspect,

<sup>1</sup> An example which may be given is that of the absence of reference to Sir H. H. Johnston's "The Negro in the New World" where, in the chapter on Jamaica, both obiah and Kromanti are discussed not only as to African origins but New World affiliations as well.



rather than the generalised "dislike of nicknames" that accounts for the hesitancy of the Jamaican to tell his most important name, — his day-name. My feeling as to the truth of this interpretation becomes stronger when I read, a few lines farther, that in Jamaica, as in Suriname, the name by which one is generally known is not very important, and, as in Suriname, may be changed as fancy dictates, and this feeling becomes certainty when I read, still farther, that "so many Jamaican folk-tales turn . . . on the discovery of a hidden name that I feel sure closer investigation would reveal more traces of old African belief in sympathetic magic connected with the name."

Still other interpretations call for question. Let us consider obeah. I cannot agree with Miss Beckwith that the derivation of the term is either the Egyptian word "ob" (the serpent) or the African "Obboney." "Obia," according to Professor Westermann, derives from the tutelary spirit of the river "Bia" which, in the Ashanti country, outgrew its local character and came to be the name for a power at once helpful to those it protects and terrifyingly harmful to those who offend it. In literature on the West Indies, "obeah" is synonymous with evil magic, and Miss Beckwith tacitly accepts this interpretation. On the basis of the Suriname data, to say nothing of some of Miss Beckwith's own statements, this interpretation does not stand. If we take the case among the Bush-Negroes first, we find that obia is a healing principle. First came the Great God; later, to help man cope with nature, he made obia. Obia is not in any sense anthropomorphic among the Bush-Negroes, and, according to Miss Beckwith, this is also the case in Jamaica. This is a significant correspondence, for among the Bush-Negroes obia is the only important spiritual principal that is not conceived as being a personality. These correspondences are reinforced when we find that in discussing another aspect of obia Miss Beckwith states that "I do not find . . . any ruling character or spirit of evil in Edward's sense of the word in the modern idea of obeah," for such a conclusion is in complete agreement with Bush-Negro belief.

It is rather to be doubted whether Miss Beckwith's explanation as to why snakes are feared is correct, as well as whether "the fact that the yellow snake in Jamaica eats eggs and sleeps in hollows of fig and cotton trees is perhaps one reason for the fear of eggs and of the duppy-haunted precincts of the cotton tree." The silk-cotton, in Jamaica as everywhere in the Antilles and West Africa, is the sacred seat of a powerful spirit, and eggs are fed it to propitiate it. The snake, as is well known, forms one of the most vital elements of the religious cults of West Africa, one that, in the form in which it has been carried over into Suriname and Haiti, makes it a matter serious enough for the Gods themselves to punish when certain kinds of snakes are killed. It is something of all of these beliefs, I imagine, that permeates the Jamaican fear and respect for snakes and cotton trees and eggs, and it is to this source we must



turn for an explanation of their merging in a manner that has confused Miss Beckwith, as is apparent when we read, "The cult of the dead is strongly imposed upon the worship of the cottonwood, and the animistic idea of a tree spirit is less defined than that of a ghost of the dead harboring in its branches."

My principal objection to Miss Beckwith's explanations, however, comes at her derivation of the word "Pukkumerian," the name of a Jamaican sect that is distinguished for the ability of its members to work through the spirits of the dead. This term, Miss Beckwith tells us, has the etymology of "Pick-them-here," that is, "Dig here for the buried obeah," because "of the claim this cult makes to prophetic powers in detecting buried obeah." It is "in the wild back country given over to the real 'people of the bush' that the Pukkumerians have their homes," and these people understand the esoteric language which the spirits speak." I would suggest a different etymology for this word, one that is based on still another comparison with Bush-Negro culture. In the pantheon of these people, there is a group of spirits called "Apuku." They are little folk, who have a tongue of their own not known to the uninitiated, which those whom they possess speak when they are in a state of possession, and these little people are the guardian spirits of the bush. The similarity need not be labored, but it may be mentioned that the resemblance between the photograph of a Pukkumerian woman in a state of possession (opposite page 82) and the appearance of a woman under possession in the Suriname Bush or in the City of Parimaribo is most striking. That the Pukkumerians are the people whose belief constitutes a vestigial Apuku cult seems to me to be a conclusion that cannot help being drawn.

However, these objections to Miss Beckwith's interpretations of her data and her explanations of them should not overshadow the value which this book holds for students of the problem of the New World Negro. Her book is a pioneer ethnological account of a New World Negro group, it shows clearly the great amount of African culture that has held over in Jamaica in spite of the oppressions of slavery, and it affords data to help connect the various New World Negro peoples. This is quite enough to ask from any work. It is to be hoped that later students will build on its facts, and be stimulated by its interpretations to further inquiry.

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## MYTHOLOGY OF THE OGLALA DAKOTA

BY MARTHA WARREN BECKWITH.

### INTRODUCTION.

The stories here collected were taken down in the early summer of 1926, for the most part from Oglala Teton Dakotas on the Pine Ridge Reservation, but a few from the Cheyenne River Teton, the Yanktonai of Fort Thompson and the Yanktons of Greenwood. They were, with a few exceptions, related in the native dialect by old Indian story-tellers of local reputation and translated directly to me by an interpreter. Left Heron (that same Hok'a'c'atka who contributed to Walker's collection) was early recommended to me at the agency as the most reliable informant on the reservation for legendary material, but more than a month of my stay had passed before I was able to arrange a series of interviews, with William Garnett, court interpreter for the agency, to dictate the English translation. For Eagle Hawk's stories Henry Fielder, a Hampton graduate now government school-teacher on the reservation, proved a valuable interpreter because of his willingness to furnish many useful explanations of Indian customs. Mrs. Susie Hollowhorn at the time of my visit was camped near Manderson in a small tent, where she dried strips of meat in the sun for food and occupied herself with porcupine quill work (now almost entirely replaced by bead work) and the painting of parflêches. Her son-in-law, a well-educated and conscientious young Indian, acted as her interpreter, and she was very much pleased to think that her name would be printed with the stories. Of these three interpreters, although all were able to speak both languages fluently, not one could write the Siouan text accurately.

According to Antelope of Greenwood, Dakota stories are regarded as falling into two classes: — "myths" and "stories which tell about a tribe." The first are told merely for fun without regard to truth; the second are related as "true stories." I did not get the impression that either form was held sacred. The Yankton word for "myth," according to Antelope, is *ohu'kaka*, from *hahepi*, "night," and *kaka'*, "laughable."

In Santee the word is *hitu'kakapi*. "Stories which tell about a tribe" are *wo'yakapi*, "events told." They generally open with the words, "There was a tribe camped."<sup>1</sup> A Wichita story tells how a stranger and Coyote compete one evening in story-telling. "The Coyote sat on the east side of the fire and the strange man sat on the west side. They commenced to tell their war tales, and at first they came out even at the end of every round. All night they continued, till finally the strange man began to fall behind. The Coyote told more tales than did the strange man. The strange man told true stories but the Coyote — being known to tell what was not true, could tell more tales than any other man; his stories were not half true."<sup>2</sup>

The lying tales I gathered to be the Ikto'mi stories. They ordinarily open with the words "Ikto'mi was travelling." In grouping this collection I have placed them at the end. Most Ikto'mi stories current among the men are of such a character that my informants refused to repeat them to me; those here included all point a moral and are of wide distribution. A more amusing and native form of such humorous travel tales, one of which, collected in text, was almost identical with a Bushotter version, is quite without ethical value but has not the indecency of more modern Ikto'mi stories.

Of the tribal stories, the first four numbers of this collection represent four different styles of recording tribal history. The first is the calendar style, perhaps carried over from Aztec civilization. The second is the allegory, which also employs pictograph but follows a form so closely resembling our own allegory as to suggest a foreign pattern applied to thoroughly Indian data. The third is a rationalized account of the introduction of such important culture elements as fire-making, the sundance, the horse. With the fourth number begins a series of stories in the style with which we are most familiar in collections of Indian folktales; that is, the story of Indian culture as represented by a legendary account of an individual hero who, in a series of adventures, gains supernatural helpers, secures culture gifts for his people, and establishes those ceremonial customs of daily and tribal life which are of traditional value for the preservation of the group. Since the episodes in these tales are of a highly supernatural character, since they vary from one version to another, and often make use of elements borrowed from foreign sources, it is evident that their distinction as "true" stories would not hold in our sense of the word as literally true. Rather are they true in the Indian

<sup>1</sup> Compare Siouan, J. O. Dorsey, Eleventh Annual Report, 368—370. The word "myth" is here used in a different sense from that commonly thought of among Indian groups, as an invention rather than as a story of an earlier age when things were not as they are today. I did not find this latter idea among my story-tellers, but it is probably implied in the content of the story.

<sup>2</sup> Wichita, Dorsey, 255.



sense as an accurate symbolic representation of the historical experience of the group than as a realistic adventure to be interpreted in its particular aspect.

This is apparent from the start. For example, in the story of Iron Hawk the narrator explains the symbolic value of each episode in the life of the child. The guardianship is not treated realistically but under the figure of the bird which for the group stands as a symbol of fidelity. The same is true of other animal impersonations in the story. Those incidents in which treachery, guile, or duplicity is the leading motive introduce the character of the Yellow-man, who in this story represents Ikto'mi, the patron of theft and craft. Again, the use of the number four for repetitive acts or for groups of objects or individuals is symbolic rather than realistic in treatment. The rehearsal of four successive awakenings of the child, of four days of successful hunting in which he brings in a progressive series of game animals, the tentative ring-throwing before the ring is finally tossed the fourth time, the four Lightning brothers, the four arrows, all follow a ritual pattern rather than an attempt to picture an actual happening. In other tales we find four guardian animals, four magic objects given by four supernatural helpers, a visit to the four winds, four tests put to the hero. The movement "toward the west" is said to represent a change in organization within the tribe. Since all such changes are likely to bring about dissention, the hostility thus arising within the group is symbolized by the blustering thunder beings.

The incidents of the tales all center about such general experiences as are of social or economic value to the group and whose introduction would hence mark an era in their history and require the establishment of new regulations. The bringing of the buffalo and the horse; the quest after scalp-knife or scalp; the successful encounter with those inimical forces of nature (here represented by the Rock people and the Bear) who make the game scarce and delay the return of the song-birds to earth — these are matters of vital importance to the group. There is an intimate relation felt to exist between the sun-dance and long life to the warrior; a relation between trophies of war and of the hunt. Scalps and horses are the booty of the courageous warrior; fine equipment and a chief's daughter as wife — that is, riches and social honor — are his reward. Even the forces of nature may, by means of courage, fortitude, and resourcefulness, be under his control.

Hence a hero-tale like this of Iron Hawk in particular, as also of the other more episodic stories in the series, forms a kind of tribal epic the object of whose recital is to instill into the young men just entering manhood ambition to excel in war-like achievements and wisdom to avoid the pitfalls into which they are likely to fall through treachery and deceit, through failure to secure magic powers by means of dreams induced by fasting, through disregard of the sacredness of magic powers not to be lightly made use of.

They teach also respect for the ceremonial organization of the group and the ritual significance of seemingly trivial observances the history of whose adoption into the tribe they may be said actually to represent. Tribal life thus becomes a constant adjustment with those higher powers who control individual happiness. The two-fold parentage of heaven and earth is symbolized in the birth-story of the sky-born hero. In the story of Iron Hawk this is omitted but, in that of "The Woman who Married a Star," the very common Plains Indian theme occurs in which women wish for star husbands, the star men come to claim their brides and carry them to the sky, whence one, having broken a taboo, is let down again to earth pregnant and is killed in the descent, leaving her son a foundling on earth to become the ward of some protecting or unfriendly guardian.<sup>1</sup> In Dakota stories the protecting guardian is stressed, possibly because of the strong social interest in the *huka'* relationship of adoption which is supposed to protect the young from evil influences.<sup>1</sup> The symbolic value attached to each act of the child in the story of Iron Hawk is a token of harmony with Tirawa, who gives long life. The sacred relation between man and the buffalo is emphasized in such stories as that of the buffalo wife, in the buffalo transformations, and in other incidents in which the buffalo is represented as guarding the hero or as defeated in contest, a relation which seems to be further indicated at the sun-dance when a figure of a man together with one of a buffalo is hung on the dance-pole.<sup>2</sup> To the relation felt to exist between death by a lightning stroke and death on the war-path is due the constant reference to Thunder and the Lightning people as inimical or friendly actors in warlike achievements. Adventures in the land of the Waki'ya are regularly conceived as war-parties lead into an enemy's territory. The Lightning people are supposed to have brought the horse to the Indian; hence the lightning impersonation appears on horseback. Lightnings are summoned at the point of death to snatch the hero from his enemy (as in the case of a fleeing war-party a swift horse effects the warrior's rescue), and horses result from

<sup>1</sup> The story takes two other common forms among the Plains Indians. A woman follows a fat porcupine up a stretching tree into the sky, or a stranger (presumably a sky-being) visits a pregnant woman during her husband's absence and by insisting upon using her body to cut his food upon, succeeds in liberating a pair of wonder-twins at the expense of the mother's life.

In the other form of the story (suggested in Iron Hawk's adventure with the witch woman), the guardian fears the mysterious child and sends him on one dangerous errand after another in the expectation that the child will be killed, but from which the child returns triumphant after killing all of the guardian's supernatural helpers. The same feats are accomplished under the aspect of the friendly guardian, but in this case the guardian warns his ward (or wards) against the danger, only to be disobeyed by the wonder-worker.

<sup>2</sup> In some Plains Indian stories of the contest between a man and his buffalo wife's relations the narrator explains that formerly buffalo ate men, a condition which was changed by the events in the story.



such a rescue; that is, the war-party escapes with the enemy's horses. Iron Hawk wins back a scalp for the "Maker of Horses" (sure symbol of a war party). When he returns to camp what seems like a great storm following him turns out to be a troop of horses, so that "the whole space was covered with horses." Finally, in two stories (No's. 14 and 15) which narrate the origin of ceremonial customs, it is the lightning impersonation who establishes the dances for a young girl entering womanhood and who teaches ritual observances for the Heyo'k'a or clown society.

Not only is courage on the war-path inculcated in these stories and propitiation of the powers of earth and sky, but also the youths are warned against those tricks of guile which are placed as pitfalls in the path of the unwary. The young man entering upon life is not able to distinguish the false from the true, the genuine from its appearance. Hence stories of the ruse by which a deceiver beguiles a young hero of his weapons and equipment and sets himself up in his place. He leaves the unsuspecting hero in a pit, or stuck to a tree, or carries him away to a desert island. Dangerous women too may beguile him: a buffalo wife carries him away into buffalo country where he is set upon by unfriendly people; a "rock-woman" fastens herself upon him and carries him away to enemies in the sky. The young man must learn to distinguish between real and pretended claims and must not be tricked into allowing a stranger to steal honor that belongs to himself. Hence stories of the false claim to the red eagle and red fox shooting; of the false arrow-maker (No. 8); of the warrior who achieves a success which is hidden under the shabby guise of a mean appearance and equipment; of the contemptuous older girl and the penetrating younger; of the poor orphan who becomes the hero of the village and wins the chief's daughter. Whatever form the story may take and whatever incidents embellish the story, the meaning is the real truth of the experience and not its objective reality. In how far each incident symbolizes an actual episode in the history of the tribe it would be difficult to say. In the first story the very name "Iron Hawk" is significant. Iron, as a symbol of invulnerability, and the hawk, of swiftness and decision in attack, together symbolize the courage of the warrior. The name serves as a kind of prayer for the qualities symbolized. So do the episodes of the story for the qualities and achievements which they present. Long life, glory in war and success in the hunt, riches in the form of fine clothes, many horses, and a chief's daughter for wife, above all, honor in the tribe, are the ideals set forth in these stories. The stories serve to preserve the ceremonial tradition of the tribe and to represent the history of its tribal organisation.

We have no account known to me of an Oglala initiation ritual into the warrior society, but the Osage version recorded by LaFlesche gives an idea of a parallel symbolism.<sup>1</sup> The Osage at first organized the whole tribe

<sup>1</sup> Thirty-sixth Annual Report, 63—65; Thirty-ninth Annual Report 206—237.



into four divisions for the conduct of a war-party, but, as mobilisation was too cumbersome under these conditions for a quick foray, a new class of war-party was initiated which permitted a single division to act independently. The symbol of such a war-party was a stuffed hawk-skin one of which was distributed to each of the seven camps of each of the three tribal divisions of the Osage as an expression of the courage of the warrior. This hawk symbol played a prominent part in the ritual of initiation and in war it was carried to the front in a straw basket symbolizing the heaven and the earth which were its father and mother. It served as a prayer for swiftness in battle.<sup>1</sup> In the songs accompanied by dramatic action sung for the hawk in the Osage war ritual as recorded by LaFlesche, the first songs are sung while the skins are preparing and represent the birth of the mythical hawk. There follows the approach of a raging bull and a clap of thunder, both of which threatening dangers are averted by song while the hawk-skins are thrown to the bull, who immediately becomes friendly and the thunder ceases. This drama is said to represent the opposition raised to the new order by two powerful gentes among the Osage who were won over by receiving the office of caring for the hawk-skins.

As for the actual episodes in the stories, wide as is their distribution among Sioux groups I take it that very few are native. We recognize too many world-wide elements or even complete plots of too complex character to argue for independent invention. The three quest stories into the land of the Waki'ya (No's. 10, 11) or into Buffalo country (No. 9) after a lost wife or for the hand of a chief's daughter, follow the pattern of the swan-maiden story set in Somadeva's "Golden City" and its Arabian equivalents, or of the visit to a supernatural world by the youth who has gambled with the devil of European variants. The consultation with the three wisest; the placating of helpful beasts; the visits to the winds and the carrier wind or horse, the recognition test, — these incidents are common to our own folk versions. In the incident of the hoofprint (No. 9), there may be some relation to an Armenian belief that he who drinks from a hoof-print will assume the form of whatever species of animal made the print. Of very wide distribution is the male Cinderella plot of the shabby hero transformed, whose identity is proved by the display of the spoils. Equally so the related plot of the false claim (generally attached to the Andromeda story), and that of the witch who turns her victim to stone. The exchange of fears, the fatal noise of rattles, drums and shouting (or thunder), and the trick by which the monster is beguiled

<sup>1</sup> Riggs in *Dakota Grammar*, 171, quotes a seventeenth century Jesuit account of the dread in which the Dakotas were held by other tribes of Indians in the neighborhood of Lake Superior. He tells with what skill and dexterity they could "fill the air with arrows" in attack, and how "They turn their head in flight and discharge their arrows so rapidly that they are no less to be feared in their retreat."

belong to north European story. The story of the escape from the island on a horned water-monster who fears the shadow of a cloud, looks like an adaptation of the well-known story of the trickster abandoned by birds on an island and the fish ferryman whom the trickster rewards with death for his good-nature. Wherever the plot originated, in each case the Dakota has made the story thoroughly his own by giving it the coloring of his own experience and directing it to the illustration of his own life problem.

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3. SOMETHING ABOUT THE INDIAN: a rationalized account of the introduction of fire, the sun-dance, the horse, into the life of the Indian.
4. THE STORY OF IRON HAWK: a culture-hero story pointing out the conduct of life from infancy to manhood. A foundling adopted by Meadow Lark is painted and smoked in infancy and grows with miraculous rapidity; is supplied with a bow and arrows for hunting and brings in a succession of game, from rabbit to buffalo; is publicly given a name before the camp; is given fine clothes and a protecting hawk-cap. He travels in search of a wife; overcomes the rock-witch, restores to life his companions, the Lightnings, and gives to them the rock-witch's daughters as wives. He is deceived and left in a pit by Yellow Man, who impersonates him and marries the chief's older daughter. He escapes and teaches the method of calling game birds and buffalo, and shoots the red eagle and the red fox who are driving the game from the people. Yellow-man claims the achievement, but, having married the chief's younger daughter after a transformation test, he regains his fine clothes, proves his success with the fox and eagle, and disgraces Yellow Man and his wife. By means of a transformation into buffalo and a scattering of hairs, he and his wife secure buffalo for the camp; his son Red Calf is born and endowed with the hawk-cap. When in buffalo form he is beguiled into carrying a Rock Woman across a river, is borne away to the sky and only rescued by his son Red Calf, who follows his whirlwind trail into the sky and shoots and kills the Rock Woman; returning they invite the song birds to earth. He avenges the insults of Yellow Man upon his grandmother; and recovers the scalp for the Maker-of-horses, who provides him with horses for his tribe. Red Calf returns to visit Meadow Lark, on the way marrying in Mountain Lion village and adopting a nephew whose name he announces as Rattling Hoof, and avenges his grandfather upon the dangerous Rock People who are preventing the peopling of the country by the birds.

5. **THE GRANDCHILD:** the poor boy who brought horses and married the chief's daughter. A poor boy who lives with his grandmother goes courting; diving upstream he becomes handsome, a transformation which he shares with a friend. After marriage with a chief's daughter who has followed him to the home of his friend's grandmother, a retransformation takes place and the two suffer insult. He and his mule are transformed into warrior and warhorse and he slays in this disguise the yellow-haired foe. His identity is revealed and enemies attempt to put him to death, but bands of horsemen come from the four winds, kill his enemies, and leave horses to the Indian.
6. **THE EARTH:** the poor boy who brought buffalo and married the chief's daughter. A poor boy by prayer calls the buffalo for the starving people; Iktomi tries to rival him in shooting and fails; the chief gives him his daughter in marriage. So buffalo first come to the Indian.
7. **FOUR BROTHERS:** the youngest of four brothers, having gained supernatural helpers, wins wives by overcoming the tests of a witch and her brother. By means of the gift of mice he escapes poisoned food; by that of a feather he wins in leaping; with a magic arrow he hits a bird; with a magic gun he breaks a looking-glass.
8. **THE HOOP AND ARROW GAME:** a pretender forces from the victor in the hoop and arrow contest the fruits of victory and by means of false arrows which look like real ones he meets death. A boy (who has buffalo and rock guardians) is set difficult tasks of bringing to his taskmaster forty cherry-sticks without knots for arrows; a weasel's tooth to groove them with; feathers to wing them with; flakes of rock to point them with. He drives up the buffalo bull as game, who gores the man to death because the arrows were false.
9. **THE STORY OF BLUEJAY:** the man who married a buffalo wife. He follows a wounded buffalo and finds a woman; a child is born to them; wife and child turn buffalo cow and calf and return to buffalo country; he follows and is saved by his son, who advises his drinking out of the hoof. In buffalo country the son aids him to meet the recognition test, two dangerous quests — after tent-pins and a nest with eggs, and a sleeping test; and, upon his failing in the last through Iktomi's neglect, restores him to life. After a hoop and stick game he escapes the attack of the buffalos by means of his feather-transforming power and destroys almost the whole company.
10. **THE MAN WHO WENT AFTER THE BUFFALO HORN:** a dangerous quest set as a marriage test. A chief's daughter promises to marry the man who will bring her an object unknown to anyone in the camp. Accompanied by two companions, one a fore-sighted younger brother, he learns from two old women who are rendered friendly by gifts how to approach the camp of the thunder people where the object is kept hidden. Guardian animals are pacified by gifts; access to the lodge is secured



by transformation, and the object stolen together with the scalp of its owner. By means of feather transformation the three escape, are protected by the guardian animals and the old women, who fight back the Thunder-beings sent to recover the token and teach the young men a magic song which, sung within a magic circle of charcoal, will carry them back swiftly to their own country. On their triumphant return a shinny game is arranged, the chief's daughter catches the ball and flees with it and as she flees she changes into a spotted deer.

11. **HOW PLENTY HORSES WENT TO BE THUNDER'S SON-IN-LAW:** the man who seeks a lost bride in a far country. A young man saves a single sorry-looking horse from a large troop. The horse carries him westward in quest of a bride; he wins a chief's daughter at a ring-shooting contest, but the girl disappears. The horse bears him over a body of water to the lodge of his uncles, the Winds, who, pacified by their old mother and questioned in turn as to the whereabouts of the lost bride, finally bear him to the land of the Thunder-beings where he snatches his bride from her would-be bridegroom.
12. **THE GIRLS WHO MARRIED STARS:** the sky-born boy who avenges his guardian and marries a high-born maiden. Two girls who wish for star husbands are taken to the sky and marry the stars of their wish; one girl breaks the taboo against digging male turnips and falls to earth. Her child is adopted by Badger; discovering that Bear is depriving the household of game he kills Badger and is splendidly clothed by his guardian. He goes west, a girl invites him to her tipi and he marries her. When Iktomi condemns him to death, he summons the thunders to loose his bonds.
13. **THE NATION OF THE BIRDS:** the brother deserted on an island in order that his property may be enjoyed by his betrayer. A boy accompanies Iktomi to an island after eagle-feathers and is abandoned in order that Iktomi may secure his property and take his sister for wife. A horned water-monster ferries him across on condition of warning if his enemy, a cloud, approaches; he returns to avenge his sister and regain his possessions.
14. **THE NATION OF THE HORSES:** the origin of the Buffalo dance and of other games and dances used to prevent the evil influences which attend a girl's arrival at puberty. As punishment for the shameful act of a young girl toward her brother, the boy is fastened to a tree which stretches to the heavens. He is released in a thunder-storm which kills the sister. A horseman on a white horse teaches to another sister the games and dances to be used at the time when a girl comes of age and directs her to teach them in the village.
15. **THE BOY WHOM THUNDER BROUGHT BACK HOME:** the origin of the Heyo'k'a society. A step-son abandoned by his step-father is rescued by Thunder and taught the painting and rites of the clown society.

16. UKCE'GILA: the swallowing monster who fed the girls he intended as his victims. Three girls who have been suspended from the camp find game each morning outside their tent; one girl watches and discovers that their benefactor is a monster, whereupon they flee and the men go out and find Ukce'gila.
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31. IKTO'MI AND STONE BOY: While Iktomi and Stone Boy are travelling, Stone Boy kills the buffalo who is sharpening his horn to avenge his brother against Stone Boy, but Ikto'mi, when an argument about precedence arises on the strength of this feat, pushes Stone Boy into a stream, where he sinks in the water.
32. IKTO'MI, MINCEMEAT AND PEMMICAN: Ikto'mi picks a quarrel between two savory brothers, who kick each other to pieces while Iktomi feasts on their fragments.

33. IKTO'MI AND BUZZARD: Ikto'mi insults the buzzard who is carrying him across a stream and Buzzard in revenge drops him into a hollow stump whence he is rescued by some women who think they are digging out a fat racoon.
34. IKTO'MI AND THE PRAIRIEDOGS: the trickster paints the dogs and sings them songs with their eyes shut while Wolf kills them with a stick. Later Wolf cheats Iktomi of the feast, who attempts unsuccessfully to shoot Wolf with an arrow and pretends he was just shooting aimlessly.
35. IKTO'MI AND THE I'YA: the trick of the broken moon. As the swallowing monster approaches, Ikto'mi sends Magpie to tell him that Ikto'mi is so angry with him for swallowing his younger brother that he fought with the moon and jerked away a part of it for a weapon; when Ikto'mi appears with his bow, the monster believes the story and flees. He is slain and his victims escape.
36. IKTO'MI AND THE I'YA: the fear of drums and rattles. Ikto'mi, after claiming the rank of the elder as the creator of I'ya, discovers under the guise of an alliance that I'ya is sensitive to noise and destroys him with shouting, drums and rattles.
37. IKTO'MI AND BUFFALO: the buffalo transform Ikto'mi into one of themselves by leaping over him, but when he attempts to transform another in the same way he returns to his old shape. A wolf, in a second version, has a similar adventure.

#### I. BEN KINDLE'S WINTER COUNT.<sup>1</sup>

1759 Wic'a'b.lecahą Wani<sup>x</sup> yetu<sup>2</sup>  
 They are broken apart / year.  
 When the tribes scattered.

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<sup>1</sup> Recorded in June, 1926, from Ben Kindle, Oglala Sioux, who also wrote out the statements of the events indicated. His count came from his grandfather, Afraid-of-Soldier. The literal translation of the text was supplied by Miss Ella Deloria of Lake Andes, South Dakota, who has also added footnotes and has throughout the paper standardized the phonetics. Her help has been invaluable. It is to be noticed that the actual native words often only serve to call to memory an incident which is either transmitted in its entirety, or has been since elaborated to include many details. See years 1781, 1786, etc. For other winter counts see Mallery, Bureau of American Ethnology, Fourth Annual Report, 89—146; Tenth Annual Report, 266—328. Compare Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, *ibid* Seventeenth Annual Report, Part I, pages 141—444. The illustrations were drawn by Kindle.

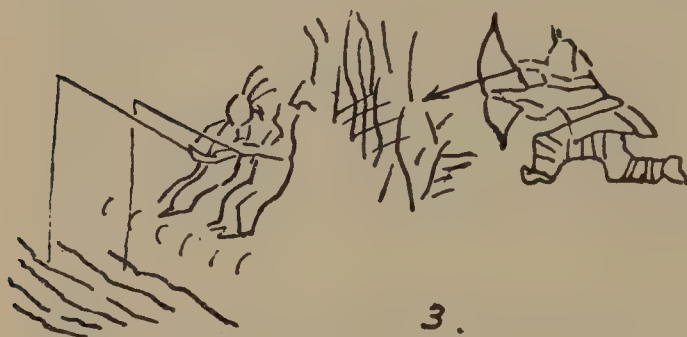
<sup>2</sup> The crossed accent indicates that, though the indicated accent occurs in the word as used by itself, when the word is used in the given sentence there is no accent.



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



1760 Hok'u'wa Wic'a'ktepi

Fishermen / they are killed. (While engaged in fishing, they are killed.)

Two Sioux boys went fishing in the creek and the enemy killed them.

1761 Wab.li'k'uwa Wic'a'ktepi

Eagle-trappers / they are killed.

Two Shoshone were trapping eagles and some Sioux killed them.

1762 Pte A'nūwapi

Buffalo / they swim out for them.

Hunters chased buffalos into the Missouri river and killed them there, then dragged them to land.

1763 T'uki' mi'layapi

Shell / they use for knives.

The Indians had no knives, hence they brought shells from the Missouri and Platt rivers to use as knives.

1764 T'azu'skala kte'pi

"Little ant" / they kill him.

A Sioux called "Little Ant" was killed.

1765 Wazi'k'ute ahi'ktepi

"He shoots at the pine" / coming they kill him.

The Sioux Indians attack the Crow and a Sioux named Shooting-Pine is killed.

1766 Wale'gala kte'pi

"Pouch" (made out of the rough lining of the first stomach) / he is killed.

A Sioux called "Pouch" is killed.

1767 Anuk' op iya'yapi

Both sides / in company with / they go off.

The Crow Indians are at peace with the Sioux and the two live together, also the Sioux are at peace with the Pawnee and they live together. When the Crow and Pawnee fight together, they find that there are Sioux on both sides and so they make peace.

1768 Iye'ska kic'i'zapi

White or clear speakers (those whose language is understandable, i. e., those in the same tribe) / they fight against each other.

The first civil war among the Sioux Indians: the Standing Rock Indians and the Cheyenne fight against the Oglala and Rosebud.

1769 Ite'hakit'ula kte'pi

"He (little one) wears a mask" / they kill him (or, he is killed).

A Sioux named "Mask-On" is killed. The mask is made out of buckskin fastened to a willow hoop with eyes cut for a mask.

1770 Wak'a't'aka iha<sup>x</sup>b.la wiya wa g.naški'ya

God / to see in vision, or dream of in sleep / woman / a / she goes crazy.

A woman has been accustomed to go to lonely places for visions and then come back and tell the people where to go for buffalo and when the enemy is coming. One morning she can not speak, she does not know anything and soon she dies.

1771 Miwa'tani oġu'wic'ayapi

Mandans / they are burnt out.

Hostile Indians dig a trench down by the creek and the Sioux are unable to drive them away. So they build fires all about the trench and the enemy have to escape in the night.

1772 C'ak'i' ya'm.ni ahi'wic'aktepi

Carriers of wood on the back / three / coming to them they kill them. (*Ahi'wic'aktepi* always means that an enemy coming there from a great distance commits the deed. It implies the killer journeying there to do it.)

The Sioux make a new camp and the Crows hide in the timber and kill three old women sent after wood as they are returning with the wood on their backs.

1773 Šu'ka k'o išta' niya'pi

Dogs / even / eyes / they are inflamed.

Even the dogs got snow-blindness this winter because there was a heavy fall of snow and they had to move camp constantly to escape attack by hostile Indians.

1774 Heyo'k'akaga wa kte'pi

Clown / a / he is killed.

The Sioux camp in a circle and the clowns put on their masks, come to the circle and then go down to the creek and back to pray for the thunder. When they go back to the creek, hostile Indians in hiding kill them.

1775 Paha'ta i num wic'a'ktepi

To the top of the hill / they went / two / they are killed. (Two individuals who had gone up to the hill were killed.)

About forty or fifty young people of the Sioux start out on a war party. They are concealed in the heavy timber down by the big creek. Two scouts on the hill look about and see the enemy coming down the creek, about seventy or eighty of them on foot with two Crow ahead. The Sioux mount their horses and kill the two Crow.

1776 Kig.lela hi

[This word may be K'ig.le'la — He goes back home (little one); or



K'ig.le'la — He goes home carrying on his back (little one); or it may be a corruption of the white man's name<sup>1</sup>] / he arrives.

A half-breed joins the Sioux.

1777 Ho'he ahi'

Assiniboines / they arrive.

The Assiniboines make peace with the Sioux.

1778 Cana'k'sa yuha' kte'pi

"Stick broken with the foot / he carries" / he is killed.

They were playing a game and the braves got to fighting and this man was killed.

1779 Tuktel' wani'ti t'ai'sni awe'tupi

What place / winter camp / it is not clear / spring comes on them.

During the winter the people generally camp by the creek with an abundance of hay and wood and move in the spring, but this year there was no feed so they had to move often throughout the winter.

1780 Slukela haka' iwo'to

(A proper name, but unidentified) / spear-like stick used in the game / he bumps into it.

Two men were playing *haka'u'pi*, or Shooting-the-Spear. They hit the umpire through the thigh with the stick so that later he died.

1781 Šuknu'ni o'ta ahi'

Stray horses / many / they come.

This year while they were in camp with their ponies in the center of the circle, many wild horses came down from the hills and joined their ponies; so they divided up the wild horses.

1782 Nawi'c'ašli

They break out with a rash.

The first epidemic of measles.

1783 Šina'lutaj wə kte'pi

Wearer of a red blanket / a / he is killed.

The man with a red blanket was killed in war.

1784 Aki'c'ita o'ta c'owi'tat'api

Soldiers / many / they freeze to death.

White soldiers were encamped by the creek and Indians came down the creek and shot them and ran away. It was so cold that all the white men were frozen to death.

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<sup>1</sup> "La" after a man's name does not always mean little; it is more apt to indicate that it is his joking or nickname, not his serious name.

1785 Og.la'la hāte' icu'pi

Og.lalas / cedar / they took.

The Sioux came west after cedar to use as medicine. "Fraid for the Thunder" is the name of cedar smoke because if men have passed through its smoke, the lightning will not strike them in a thunder-storm. They also burn cedar for the sick.

1786 P'eicu'ya zuya' g.li

"He goes to take scalps" / on warpath / he returns home.

A man vowed to go down to the Crow Indians by himself after a scalp. He stayed away for a week and then came back pretending to bring back a scalp, but it was only buffalo hair. He came into the tent carrying the scalp on a stick and singing, "I killed a Crow Indian." At first they believed him, but the brother-in-law saw the pretended scalp and recognized the fraud.

1787 O'hazi atku'ku kte'pi

"Shade" / his father / they kill.

The father of a boy named "Shade" is killed in a quarrel over whose arrow shot the buffalo.

1788 Heyo'k'akağa num wic'a'ktepi

Clowns / two / they are killed. (Make, in this sense, always means to act the part of.)

Two clowns are killed. The Sioux have three camps by the river. The clowns circle the camps and when they come down to the last one, the Shoshone hiding in the timber kill the two clowns.

1789 K'agi' o'ta c'ui'wat'api

Crows / many / they freeze to death.

Many crows die of the cold. These are not the summer crows but a bigger crow that stays in the winter.

1790 Miwa'tani num c'ahc'o'ka wic'a'ktepi

Mandans / two / out on the ice / they are killed.

Two hostile Indians came down to the Sioux camp on the ice and, when the Sioux pursued, they killed them on the ice.

1791 Wo'wapi mak'o'kawih ahi'yayapi

Flag / around the earth / they carry it along.

The American flag is carried to all the Indian tribes all around the state.

1792 Wi'ya wa ska waya'kapi

Woman / a / white / they see.

Once three Indians had gone after buffalo and were returning with the meat tied to their saddles. They looked up toward a hill just at sunset and saw a woman in white looking toward

the sun. They ran back to camp and before dawn twelve young men went out to investigate and saw the woman in white at sunrise looking toward the sun. They believed this to be a spirit warning them of the approach of an enemy and they moved camp.

1793 *Miwa'tani awi'c'at'ipi*

Mandans / they camp close to. (They, the Sioux, camp close to the Mandans to crowd them off by making the proximity unpleasant.)  
Sioux Indians camp close to hostile Indians and the two fight every day.

1794 *Ite' ci'k'a wa kte'pi*

Face / small / a / they kill (a small-faced enemy).  
The Ponca Indians are large men with little faces, hence called "Small-Face." Three Poncas lie in hiding near the Sioux camp and try to steal horses, and the Sioux kill one "Small-Face."

1795 *P'ehi' ha'skaska wa kte'pi*

Hair / long (reduplication indicates each hair is long) / a / they kill him.

They killed a Sioux Indian with long hair.

1796 *M.ni'yaye yuha' wa kte'pi*

Water container / carried / a / they killed.

A Sioux woman going after water before sunrise with a buffalo-paunch bucket on her back is killed by a hostile Indian in hiding near the camp.

1797 *Wap'a'hakit'u wa kte'pi*

Wearer of a war bonnet / a / he is killed.

A Sioux warrior kills a Blackfoot who wears a war bonnet and thus gets possession of his war bonnet. This event marks the introduction of the war bonnet as well as of the buffalo horn head-dress among the Sioux.

1798 *Wak'a't'akawiya wa iye'yapi*

Great Spirit woman / a / she is found.

This year, three young men went hunting. It was in the spring and very misty. They camped across the creek. At midnight came a woman, but where she entered they could not say, for the enclosure was walled with logs like a stockade. There she stood by the fire. She gave them three words of advice: "Grow many and you will live;" — "Pack up and run away for two big gangs of the enemy will come after you;" — "Go in that direction and I will bring many buffalo." Then she vanished they knew not where — up, down, or where. The young men cried and prayed.



- 1799 Wii'g.luš'aka o'ta t'a'pi  
Pregnant women / many / they die.  
Many pregnant women died.
- 1800 T'ac'a'ta Yu'tešni wae'c'u  
"Ruminant's heart / He eats not" / does a deed.  
A man named Never-eats-buffalo-heart made a feast for all  
the people. This was the first feast among the Sioux.
- 1801 Nawi'c'ašli  
They break out with a rash.  
The second epidemic of measles.
- 1802 Waši'cu wə wəšte' hi  
White man / a / good / he arrives.  
The first white preacher came to the Sioux.
- 1803 Šake'maza o'ta awi'c'ag.lipi  
Horse-shoes / many / they bring home (They brought home many  
shoed horses.)  
The Sioux Indians were going to steal horses and for the first  
time saw horse-shoes on them.
- 1804 Šukgu'gula o'ta awi'c'ag.lipi  
Horses burnt all over / many / they brought home (Curly-haired  
horses).  
The Sioux stole horses from the Blackfoot, many of them  
curly-haired.
- 1805 T'asī'ta ɥ aki'c'ilowapi  
Horse-tail / with (as instrument) / they sang over each other. (This  
generally means the "Hu'ka'" Ceremony when the candidates are  
made *huká* by the songs sung over them by the officiating priest  
who at the same time waves a wand with pendant horse hair. *T'a-*  
means any ruminant; the more usual word for horse-hair is *šuksī'ta*,  
but people call it *t'asī'ta*, too.)  
They first introduce the custom of adopting a member of  
another family by swinging the horse-tail over the person  
thus adopted.
- 1806 Šag.lo'gə ahi'wic'aktepi  
Eight / arriving here they kill them (The enemy came here or near  
here and killed seven men).  
Nine Sioux went to war against the Crow. One of their number  
was posted as scout on a hill with a telescope. The Crow hid  
in the tent with bows drawn and when the Sioux approached  
they killed all but the scout, who ran two nights and a day before  
he reached the Sioux camp about dinner-time.
- 1807 Wəb.li'k'uwa eya' wic'a'ktepi  
Eagle trappers / some / they are killed (i. e. away from home:

indicates that the Sioux went off somewhere and killed some eagle trappers of another tribe).

The Sioux killed some Arapaho eagle-trappers.

1808 O'g.leluta ɥ wə itkop' heyo'k'a ahi'ktepi

Red shirt / he wears / a / meeting / in an anti-natural manner / he is killed by those arriving. (A fighter who is an anti-natural, does the opposite to what the others on his side are doing, and so confuses the fighters that his own side, not realizing, of course, kill him.)

The Crow Indians are fighting the Sioux and the clown, wearing no mask but in a red shirt, runs toward the Crow and shoots at the Sioux, and the Crow kill him.

1809 Šina't'o atku'ku P'ala'ni ahi'ktepi

Blue-blanket / his father / Pawnee / arriving they kill.

Pawnee Indians kill Blue-Blanket's father.

1810 C'a'pa Ci'k'ala tii'le.

Beaver / Little / has his house burn down. (Of itself, i. e., without anyone planning it on purpose.)

A white man set up a store and collected beaver-skin. The Indians called him "Little Beaver." His camp burned.<sup>1</sup>

1811 Ši'te wa'k'supi o'ta awi'c'ag.lipi

Tail / decorated / many / they are brought home.

They steal horses with feathers on their tails.

1812 P'ala'ni top wic'a'ktepi

Pawnees / four / they are killed.

They kill four Pawnee.

1813 C'aku't'a'ka atku'ku P'ala'ni kte'pi

"Road-Big" / his father / Pawnees / they kill him.

Big-Road's father is killed by Pawnees.

1814 Witapahata ɥ wə kahu'hugapi

Dweller at Island Butte / a / they break (kahu'ga means to break something with a hard shell, like an egg, a skull, a turtle's back, etc.).

A Mandan came down to the Sioux camp and talked with his hand, telling them not to kill him. A Sioux whose brother had been killed (by a Mandan) came up to him with a concealed ax and chopped off his head.

1815 Ita'zipc'o t'i't'a'ka ot'i'pi

Sans-arcs / big house / they live in.

The No-Bow (Sans-arc) build the first log house.

1816 Na ak'e' ot'i'pi

And / again / they live in.

The house is used for a second year.

<sup>1</sup> Kindle said, "They burned his camp," but in this case it should read C'a'pa ci'k'ala t'i ki ile'yapi, or oi'leyapi.

1817 C'aše'ca ɥ t'ika'gapi

Dead wood / with (as material) / they build house.  
They build houses of dry wood.

1818 Nawī'c'ašli

They break out with rash.  
The third epidemic of measles.

1819 Sic'a'gu c'apu'pu ɥ t'ica'gapi

Burnt-Thighs / rotten wood / with / they build house.  
Rosebud Indians build houses of rotten wood.

1820 Wą Nu'p.lala iwi'c'icaške ki'caḡapi

"Arrow / Only two" / ? / they make for him.  
Two-Arrow, who made the Crow dance as a vow for brave men,  
himself ran away when they went out to fight.

1821 Wic'a'hpi wą hot'ɥ' hiya'ya

Star / a / with voice / it went by.  
A shooting-star flew from east to west with a noise like thunder.

1822 Wasku'la hu špa

"He pares with a knife" (such things as pumpkin, potatoes, apples,  
wild turnips, etc.) This is a nickname, indicated by the *la*; *hu*, leg,  
/ *špa*, burn, or better, cook.<sup>1</sup>

Man with burned legs came to camp.  
He-pares-with-knife's legs got frost-bitten.

1823 Wag.me'za o'ta ši'ce.

Corn / much / it is bad.  
Much corn spoiled. White men camped and the Indians took  
their sacks of corn to be ground and it got wet and mouldy  
because they did not know how to keep it.

1824 Yeye'la hmuḡ kte'pi

"Unstable" / by bewitching / they kill. (*Yeye'la*, shaky and  
unsteady, like a table, a limb of a tree, if it is liable to break  
when climbed, etc., *hmuḡ*, to poison by supernatural means).  
"Swing-gently" was killed.

1825 M.ni wic'a't'e

Water / they die (They drown).  
In March the people camped across the Missouri river. One  
morning before sunrise some one called them to wake because  
the water was coming. One heard the voice, but no one would  
listen. The banks did overflow and some of the old men and

<sup>1</sup> This would mean generally that a man named Wasku'la had his legs frozen. If it happened with fire, they would in nine times out of ten indicate *how* it happened. *Peta u*, they would say (by fire). But when the means is not indicated, it means by-frost-bite. One would more accurately say *gu*, instead of *špa*, if it meant by fire.



old women were drowned, while the able-bodied had to swim in the broken ice to reach high land. The horses were tied and could not get away, so they were all drowned.

1826 Ka i wa agl.it'e

Aged / he went / a / returning died.

An aged Sioux was scalped by the Crow Indians and he returned to camp and died.

1827 P'sa oha'pi

Reed or rush / they wear on their feet.

The Sioux Indians first made snowshoes out of kinnikinnick and willows.

1828 Miwa'tani o'ta wic'a'ktepi

Mandans / many / they are killed.

They kill many enemies.

1829 Ite' g.le'ga wia'k'size

"Face / striped" / retains or keeps in his possession, a woman.

An old man named Spotted-face forces a young girl to be his wife and her father cannot get her away.

1830 Ptesa' o'ta wic'a'opi

White buffalos / many / they kill by shooting.

They kill many white buffalos.

1831 Ptesa' hu kawe'ge

White buffalo / leg / it is broken. (*Ptesa'*, white buffalo. Now and then, very rarely, a light-colored buffalo was found in the herd. They were priceless because they were rare, and some put a supernatural power to them. Hence *Ptesa'* is a fine name for man or woman.)

White-Buffalo broke his leg.

1832 He Wa'zi'ca hu kawe'ge

"Horn / only one" / it is broken.

One-Horn broke his leg.

1833 Wic'a'hpi ok'i'cam.na

Stars / they go in all directions (crossing each other's path. *Icam.na* means "it snows." The way the stars seemed to fly in every way looked like snow coming down. *Ok'i'cam.na* is used to express confusion, especially among a crowd, when everyone runs hither and yon).

Stars change places, i. e., there are many shooting-stars seen in the heavens.

1834 Šahi'yela t'ig.le' wa kte'pi

Cheyenne / established in his home / a / they kill.

A Cheyenne of good family is killed by another Cheyenne because he is so rich in horses.

- 1835 T'at'a'ka wə c'e'pa o'pi  
Buffalo-bull / a / it is fat / they shoot with an arrow.  
They kill a fat buffalo bull.
- 1836 C'a'ha'ka ʉ aki'c'ilowapi  
Branched stick / with / they sing over each other. (C'a'ha'ka is a part of a bough with several branches or forks left on, like an elk-horn. This of course means such a part of the tree was used in place of the usual horse-hair switch referred to in 1805.)  
A man about to give the sign of adoption saw some buffalo coming and thought they were soldiers. In his haste he waved a stick instead of the horse-tail over the adopted person.
- 1837 Ite'hepi Sapki'ya t'ia'paktepi  
"Lower half of the face / he blackens his" / they kill him and his household right in their tipi.  
Black-face, who painted half his face black from the nose down, camped away from the circle and was killed by the Crow, he and his whole family.
- 1838 Šukg.na'škiya c'ica wə kte'pi  
"Crazy Wolf" / his son / a / they kill.  
Crazy-Dog's son is killed by the Crow.
- 1839 Wic'a'akih'a wat'a'kpe ai'  
Famine-stricken / for offensive war-fare / they go.  
During this year of famine they attacked a steamboat on the river, but without success.
- 1840 Waki'ya ci'k'ala sūka'ku num wic'a'ktepi  
"Thunder / Little" / his younger brothers / two / they are killed.  
Little-Thunder has two brothers who go to battle with the Crow Indians and are killed.
- 1841 Šukna'kpoḡi o'ta t'ewi'c'ayapi  
Brown-eared horses / many / they were caused to die.  
Many white horses with brown ears (a color much admired by the Sioux) are killed in quarrels over their possession.
- 1842 Wi'yaka Owī' šukyu'ha na'zī wə kte  
"Feather / Earring" / holding horse / he stands / a / he kills.  
The Sioux called Feather-Earrings attacks and kills a Crow Indian who is guarding a herd, and takes the horses.
- 1843 Waya'ka ag.li'pi  
Captives / they bring home.  
The Sioux Indians take Crow slaves.
- 1844 K'aḡi'b.loka<sup>x</sup> ahi'ktepi  
"Male-crow" / coming they kill him.  
He-Crow is killed by the Crow.
- 1845 Nawi'c'ašli  
They break out with a rash.  
The fourth epidemic of measles.

- 1846 Susu' ska wā kte'pi  
Testicles / white / a / they kill.  
White-Testicles is killed.
- 1847 K'āgi'wāb.li<sup>x</sup> c'ap'a'pi  
Crow-eagle / he is stabbed.  
Crow-Eagle is knifed.
- 1848 Wī'kte wā kte'pi  
Hermaphrodite / a / they kill.  
A hermaphrodite of the Crow dressed like a woman is killed.
- 1849 Nawi'c'at'ipa  
They cramp.  
There is an epidemic of cramp.<sup>1</sup>
- 1850 Wic'a'hāhā  
They have sores (small pox).  
The first small pox epidemic.
- 1851 Wakpa'm.nipi t'a<sup>x</sup>ka  
They pass things around / big. (Giving out of annuities on a grand scale.)  
For the first time rations were distributed to the Indians.
- 1852 Wani'yetu waśma<sup>x</sup>  
Winter / deep snow.  
A year of deep snow.
- 1853 Mat'o' wā wiśā' manu'hi  
Bear / a / "mons veneris" / he came to steal.<sup>2</sup>  
A man shot a bear in his tent. He woke suddenly from sleep

<sup>1</sup> Called in other counts "Na-wi'-c'a-k'se-ca", to double up. Such spasms are said to have been prevalent until one man on the march in his spasmodic movements fell into a stream and immediately recovered. After that any such attack was cured by throwing the victim into water.

<sup>2</sup> *Wi-sq Ma-nu*. To steal contact with a woman. It is said that in the old days a man could claim a woman if he overpowered her and touched her vagina. Or if he saw her naked, while in swimming perhaps, she could no longer claim to be a virgin. Women had to be extremely careful of their persons, for if they were careless enough to let these things happen, the man could claim them. They had to be careful in their conversation with men, also, for if they answered "yes" to a simple question the man might say, "Now you have yielded to me, for although I asked you a simple question with my lips, I had another in my head and that you have consented to." Young women used to be bound and tied from the hips down by their grandmothers, mothers or aunts before they slept and were usually placed to sleep near the fire and away from the edge of the tent, because a man of low character might pull up the tentpins at night, crawl in and attempt to touch the part while the girl slept, in which case she was obliged to consent to marry him. Such an act on his part was held in derision because he had no power to charm the girl and had to resort to stealing her. The bear in the "count" is jestingly said to have entered the tent for a similar purpose.



and looked over at the horses. They were snorting. He saw a black object right under the tent. He took his gun and said, "What you doing over here?" No answer. The bear said "Whi-h-u-u!" It had pulled up two pickets of the tent and got inside.

1854 Mat'o' Wayu'hi kte'pi

"Bear / he causes confusion" / they kill.

Mat'o' Wayu'hi was killed.

1855 Wic'a'yazipa waa'k'siza

"Wasp" / he refuses to have them go.

Wasp, who is a poor man, suggests after the sun-dance that

"We have a good time here; let us stay three or four months more."

1856 K'agi'wic'aša ok'i'yapi

Crow Indians / they confer with.

The Sioux make peace with the Crow.

1857 K'agi'wic'aša wik'ce'm.na wic'a'ktepi

Crow Indians / ten / they are killed.

The Sioux kill ten Crow Indians.

1858 T'asi'na Ġi P'sa'loka kte'pi

"His robe / Brow" / Crows / they kill him.

Big-Blanket is killed by Crow Indians.

1859 K'agi' T'a'ka ahi'ktepi.

"Crow / Big" / coming they kill.

Big-Crow is killed by the Crow.

1860 . . . . .

1861 Hoksic'ala hohpa'sotapi

Children / by a cough they are wiped out.

An epidemic of whooping-cough among the babies and many died.

1862 Hoksi'la wa' wašpa'pi

Boy / a / they scalp him.

A Sioux boy crossed the creek from camp and as he was coming back about nine or ten o'clock some Shoshone Indians scalped him.

1863 Og.la'la šag.lo'ga ahi'wic'aktepi

Oglalas / eight / coming they kill them.

The Crow killed eight Oglala Sioux.

1864 P'sa top wic'a'ktepi

Crow / four / they are killed.

The Oglala killed four Crow.

1865 Šukso'tapi

Horses are wiped out, die off.

A winter of heavy snow and most of the horses died.

- 1866 Wasi'cu opa'wige wic'a'ktepi  
Whites / hundred / they are killed.  
The Sioux kill a hundred whites.
- 1867 Šu'sula t'ihī' wə kte'pi  
Shoshone / come right into camp / a / they kill.  
A Shoshone came into the Sioux camp to steal and was killed.
- 1868 Waki'ya Het'u' e'ihpeyapi  
"Thunder / has horns" / they take him off and leave him there.  
Horned-Thunder went with a war party of Sioux to fight the Ute. His feet swelled, so they left him behind with food and wood close by the creek and went on to the war, but Horned-Thunder never came back.
- 1869 Winu'hcala wə c'aka't'a  
Old woman / a / she is killed by a tree.  
An old woman who camped under a tree was killed by the wind blowing the tree over.
- 1870 C'aku' Waka'tuya ahi'ktepi  
"Road / High" / coming they kill him.  
A very brave man named High-Road is killed by the Crow.
- 1871 C'aha'hake t'ai'sni  
"Spinal column" / disappears.  
Back-Bone is lost when out hunting.
- 1872 Nata'hlo'ka k'aği'wic'aša e'wic'akte  
"Head with a hole in it" / Crow Indians / going he killed them.  
Hollow-Head was sleeping up on a hill with a telescope, gun and arrows. He saw two Crow Indians and shot them both without any aid.
- 1873 Oma'ha num wic'a'ktepi  
Omahas / two / they are killed.  
The Sioux kill two Omaha Indians.
- 1874 Eha'ke k'owa'kata ai'  
For the last time / across the River / they went.  
The Sioux cross the Missouri for the last time.
- 1875 Wa'g.luhe šako'wi ahi'wic'aktepi  
Camp-followers / seven / coming they kill them.  
Seven Sioux Indians from Loafer Camp go visiting to Big Horn River and are attacked by Crow Indians and killed.
- 1876 Małpi'ya Lu'ta šukki'pi  
"Cloud / Red" / they take his horses from him. (The white soldiers demanded all the horses from his tribe. This was to prevent another uprising.)  
The white soldiers take his horses from Red-Cloud, the Oglala chief (Custer massacre).

1877 T'aşu'ke Witko<sup>x</sup> kte'pi

"His horse / crazy" / they kill.

The Oglala chief Crazy-horse, who has harried the settlers in the Black Hills as they came through with oxen, is killed this year.

1878 Şahi'yela Wak'a<sup>1</sup> kte'pi

Cheyenne / Holy / they kill him. (Had it been a Cheyenne medicine man, it would have been "Şahiyela wak'a<sup>x</sup> wə kte'pi.")

Cheyenne Holy Man was killed this year. He was a Sioux medicine man and at a gathering at the agency he claimed to be invulnerable. So they shot at him and killed him. (This is the year of the opening of the agency at Pine Ridge.)

1879 Şukma'niku G.leška' kte'pi

"Wolf / Spotted" / he is killed.

Spotted-Wolf is killed by a Sioux.

1880 Susu' G.leška' kte'pi

"Testicles / Spotted" / they kill.

Spotted Testicles is killed by a Sioux.

1881 Şite'g.leška kte'pi

Spotted Tail / they kill.

Spotted-Tail (chief at Rose-bud) is killed.

1882 C'a'c'ega k'i'la c'ica' wə ic'i'kte

"Drum / he carries on his back (nickname)" / his son / a / he kills himself.

Drum-on-the-back's son shoots himself.

1883 Ite'c'agu<sup>x</sup>gu t'ahu' pawe'ge

"Face-blackened with wood charcoal" / his neck / it is broken.

Black-paint-on-the-face broke his neck chasing the steers at the old slaughter-house at Pine Ridge.

1884 T'at'a'ka Ska t'awi'cu kikte'

"Buffalo-bull / White" / his wife / he kills his own.

White-Bull killed his wife.

1885 P'e'tawic'aşa e'ihpeyapi

Fire-man (Man of fire) / they take him far and leave him.

Fire-Man went to visit the Arapaho and died there.

1886 Yupta'ya wanu'ktepi

"Turn it over" / is accidentally killed.

Turn-them-over was killed.

1887 Wak'a' wanu'ktepi

"Holy" / is accidentally killed.

Holy was killed.

1888 Wo'p'ahta yuble'capi

"Bundles" / they are opened and exposed.

Policemen stopped the traffic in "medicine."

<sup>1</sup> Probably a proper name, "Şahi'yela Wak'a'."



- 1889 O'g.le Ša t'ak'si'tku wə ic'i'kte  
 "Shirt / Red" / his younger sister / a / she hanged herself.  
 Red-Shirt's sister hanged herself.
- 1890 Si T'a'ka kte'pi  
 "Big / foot" / they kill.  
 Chief Big-Foot came to the Ghost Dance at Oglala. The Agency stopped the dance and at Brennan the soldiers attacked them and killed the chief and many others.
- 1891 Maka' ma'niakic'ita wic'a'ka'gapi  
 Ground / walking soldiers (Infantry) / they are made.  
 The Indians are taken to Omaha and Fort Mink and put into the army.
- 1892 C'a Num Yuha' pteyu'ha wic'a'kte  
 "Sticks / two / he has" / cattle-owners / he kills them.  
 Some cowboys down by White River are troubling the cattle and Two-Sticks and his son go down and kill the cowboys.
- 1893 Owa'yawat'aka ile' (Pine Ridge Agency)  
 Big school / it burns.  
 The first boarding-school is burned at the Pine Ridge Agency.
- 1894 C'a Num Yuha' p'a'nak'seyapi  
 "Sticks / two / he has" / they behead him.  
 They hang Two-Sticks for killing the cow-boys.
- 1895 Og.la'la om.ni'ciye t'a'ka ka'gapi  
 Oglalas / gathering / great / they make.  
 (Om.niciye T'a'nka is the general term among all the Indians for religious gatherings. It is probable this was the first Episcopal Convocation on the Oglala reserve.)  
 They call the first meeting of the big Oglala council.
- 1896 Zikta'la Ska Waya'su t'a  
 "Bird / White" / judge / he dies.  
 White-Bird, the judge, died at the agency.
- 1897 T'alo't'ipi wə ile'yapi; Mak'a'sa el  
 Beef-house / a / they burn it; / Mak'a'sa / at.  
 The slaughter-house was burned by incendiaries who did not want it there.
- 1898 Og.la'la t'oka' c'u'kaške ka'gapi  
 Oglalas / first time / fences / they make.  
 A fence is built all around the Oglala reservation.
- 1899 P'eta'ga t'a  
 "Live coal" / he dies.  
 Fire (an old man who worked at the reservation) died.
- 1900 Wo'kpam.ni nat'a'kapi  
 Annuities (of goods) / they lock or close or bar.  
 Rations are not given out.

- 1901 Wic'a'haḥa  
Smallpox.  
Second smallpox epidemic.
- 1902 Winu'hcala wa t'ai'sni  
Old woman / a / she disappears.  
An old man and an old woman came drunk from Chadron and the old woman disappeared.
- 1903 T'a'hcak'ute wic'a'ktepi  
Antelope-hunters / they are killed.  
The Sioux went down to Wyoming to hunt antelope and the policemen went after them and killed four. The Sioux killed one policeman from Newcastle.
- 1904 T'oka' mak'i'yu't'api  
First time / they surveyed the land.  
For the first time land was allotted in the reservation.
- 1905 Wap'a'ha Ho'ta c'ica' kat'i'ye'kiya  
"War-bonnet / Gray" / his son / he kills his own by shooting.  
Gray-war-bonnet killed his son when he was drunk.
- 1906 Sa'pawic'aša owi'cayuspapi  
Black-men (Utes) / they are captured.  
Some Ute Indians camped within the Cheyenne River agency were transferred to the Ute reservation.
- 1907 Mak'i'yu't'a wo×kazužu icu'pi  
Land survey / payment / they receive.  
The first payment was made for the allotment benefit.
- 1908 Waši'cu T'ašu×ke t'a  
"White man / His horse" / he dies.  
Chief American-Horse died.
- 1909 Mi'wak'a Yuha' t'a  
"Sword / He has" / he dies.  
Chief Sword<sup>1</sup> died.
- 1910 Mahpi'ya Lu'ta t'a  
"Cloud / Red" / he dies.  
Chief Red-Cloud died.
- 1911 Mat'o' K'oki'p'api t'a  
"Bear / they fear him" / he dies.  
Afraid-of-Bear died.
- 1912 Wo'wapi wakał' a'yapi  
Flag / upward / they raise it.  
Flag-raising at the agency. "The Indians and white men held the ropes. My father had one and another old Indian had another. One spoke and said, 'Always where this flag is you must fight for it; you don't want this flag down.'"

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<sup>1</sup> Sword was one of Walker's best informants.

- 1913 Wa'ta wa m.nit'a'  
Ship / a / it drowns.  
The sinking of the Titanic.
- 1914 Iya' Ši'ca t'oka' oki'c'ize  
Speech / Bad<sup>1</sup> / first / there is war  
War declared with Germany.
- 1915 Waši'cuik'ceka oki'c'ize  
Common whites (French) / there is war.  
France at war with Germany.
- 1916 United States wa'ta nap'o'pyapi  
United States / ship / they explode it.  
A United States ship sunk (the Lusitania).
- 1917 President Wilson oki'c'izekta c'ažo'ic'iwa  
President Wilson / there shall be war / he signs his name.  
President Wilson wants men to enlist in the army.
- 1918 United States oki'c'ize ohi'yapi; Flu ewi'c'ac'eca  
United States / war / they win it; / Flu / they get it.  
The United States has peace from the war; flu epidemic.
- 1919 Iye'c'ika ig.lu'ha wic'a'yustapi  
Of their own accord / to keep themselves / they are made.  
Some Sioux Indians become citizens.
- 1920 M.nita' t'a'ka wa wak'a'heza k'o m.nit'a'pi  
Flood / great / a / children / too / they die by drowning.  
White Clay creek is flooded in June and horses, cattle and  
dogs are drowned. One house "drew away" with everything in  
it and two children died.
- 1921 July oška'te yub.le'capi  
July / celebration / they break it into parts.  
There is a fourth of July celebration at each station.
- 1922 Aki'c'itahoksila ahi'  
Soldier-boys / they arrive.  
Soldiers get recruits for the army.
- 1923 President Wilson t'a  
President Wilson / dies.  
President Wilson died.<sup>2</sup>
- 1924 Ate'yapi Tidwell wic'a'k'ute  
Agent / Tidwell / he shoots at them.  
Agent Tidwell shot at Indians boys who had escaped from jail.
- 1925 Agent Jermark wo'žuok'olakic'ie ka'ga  
Agent Jermark / farming society / he makes.  
Agent Jermark makes a farming chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Because German speech is considered particularly unintelligible.

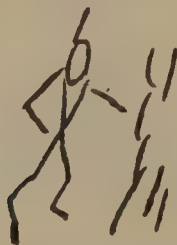
<sup>2</sup> Wilson died in 1924.



WIC'O'WIC'AGA : GENERATION<sup>1</sup>

My uncle who died here this winter at the age of eighty-nine years told me this story. His name is Buffalo Man. He heard it from his grandfather.

## I.



The man (in the picture) is Wic'o'wic'aga. He has an eagle feather in his hair. This man was said to be very tall (about as high as the ceiling). The marks at the right are the ocean. This man started from the east and traveled west.

## 2.

Wic'o'wic'aga saw seven fireplaces. He stood with his hand to his brow and sighted the seven fireplaces. (Of course this is a story; it seems ridiculous, but this is what happened in the story.) He stepped in this ocean and with one step he was across the ocean. When he came to the fireplaces he saw that at each place there had been a tipi. He examined all the fireplaces, going around in a circle, and finally found by the tracks where they had all moved together westward. And these tracks were the footprints of men and dogs dragging a travoise.

## 3.

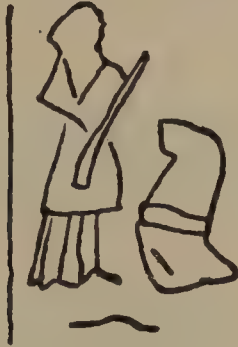
He came to a ridge beyond which was a valley, and in the valley were seven camps. These were the names of the camps:

- Og.la'la
- Ita'zipc'o (Sans arc)
- Sic'a'gu (Burnt thigh: Rosebud Reservation Indians)
- Huk'pap'a (Camp farther away)
- M.nik'a'wo'zu (Planters-by-Water)
- Kubiya (—: this tribe travels on foot)
- Isa'yat'i (Knife dwellers)

<sup>1</sup>Told by Eagle Hawk, June 18 and 19, 1926. Eagle Hawk illustrated the story with pictures drawn on the blackboard; to these he refers in the story. The whole story recounts the organization of the group after the migration, its division into bands or 'camps,' and the struggle of a young man to avoid temptations and gain success in life. It is such a story as a relative might tell to a boy who is passing into manhood. The explanations of the customs were furnished in part by Mr. Fielder.

Before he could reach them they had moved again, going west, and this time, besides the tracks of men and dogs, there were also tracks made by ponies.

4.



Still following these tracks west he came to another ridge and on the other side he saw a man holding in his hand an old flint-lock gun and near him sat an Indian woman with a blanket over her head. The blanket was brown on the upper side and inside had designs of different kinds. On her right side sat a dog. Beside her were two containers, one of each of the two Indian patterns.<sup>1</sup> He approached and asked them "Why are you here?" The man said, "We were camped right here, but those whom we were with went over that hill." He said, "I am very hungry. Can't you give me some food?" The woman said, "We have nothing to eat." He said, "You should have something to eat in that *wok'p'a*; that is what it is for." Again he said, "Why have you that gun in your hand? If you have nothing to eat you should use that gun; that is what it is for." The position of the woman in the picture shows that she is sad. She said, "This man has a gun but he is lazy; he does not try to bring in meat for us to eat." He said, "It is she who will not let me get out to hunt; she wants me to stay by her." And he went on to say, "She should have a pair of each container but she gambled the other two away." — "Yes, and he blacks the soles of my moccasins with charcoal and examines them on his return to see if I have been away anywhere!" Wic'o'-wic'aga said, "Give me the dog to eat, I am so hungry." "No," said the man, "she had adopted the little dog as her child before I married her. She does not even know how to strike a dog." The woman began to cry and to sing,

I am having such a hard hard time! (3 times)

You Long Tails<sup>2</sup> have such different dispositions that

I am having such a hard hard time! (3 times)

<sup>1</sup> The square-shaped Sioux container is called a *p'a*, the bellows-shaped container a *wokp'a*. A pair of each is taken in traveling.

<sup>2</sup> Young men wore fastened to their belt a long length of flannel six or eight inches wide that dragged on the ground, hence they were called 'Long Tail.'

The husband echoed the same strain but he sang,

You Tail Women make lots of trouble for me.

The young man said, "You two come with me and we will go where other men are." But the man said, "No, just leave us where we are. It does not matter what becomes of us!"

5.

He continued his journey westward and came to another high ridge. Looking down into the valley he saw a great many men and women down in the thick timber, each one of whom had his hair entangled in a



buffalo-berry bush, a rose bush or some kind of brier. One of them looked around and said, "Are you Wic'o'-wic'aga who is said to be coming?" — "Yes." — "Come and help us, we are in a bad fix!" — "No, I cannot help you. Untangle yourselves as best you can and let us go where the men are." — "We shall perish here!"

6.

Wic'o'-wic'aga went on west and came to another ridge. In a valley beyond he saw a man with a scarf around his head and leggings on who was looking along the ground for tracks. There was blood sprinkled



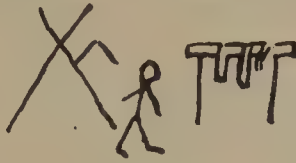
about showing that he had been butchering some wild animal. "Are you Wic'o'-wic'aga who is said to be coming?" said the hunter. "Yes, come along with me where the men are." — "No, I have no time; I am busy hunting."

7.

He came to another ridge. Down in the valley he saw a poor-looking tipi, smoke-stained, and outside he saw a man with a number of small tanned skins such as are used for wrapping babies. These he was hanging



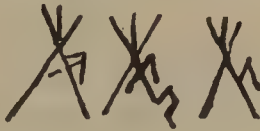
on a pole to air and dry. The man turned and said, "Wic'o'-wic'aga is expected to come. Is that you?" — "Yes, come with me where the men



are." The man looked inside the tipi and spoke to his wife, — "Shall I go with this man?" The woman said, "No, I want you to look after those skins!" — "Too bad!" said Wic'o'-wic'aga, and left him.

8.

He came to another ridge and, looking down into the valley, saw three tipis. As he approached one a man peeped out and then went back inside. He could hear others within. He asked, "Who is living here?" The man (who had looked out) said to his wife, "Tell him our names; perhaps it is



Wic'o'-wic'aga who is coming." She said, "The one in the center is Peeps-out-eating, the second is Eats-everything-himself, the third is Chews-on-one-side-of-the-jaw-only (being too greedy to divide with the other side)." Wic'o'-wic'aga said, "Come with me where the men are!" but they said it was too hard a journey.

9.

He came to another ridge and looking down into a valley saw a man and a woman who were fastened together at the shoulders. The man turned his head and asked, "Are you Wic'o'-wic'aga who is coming?" —

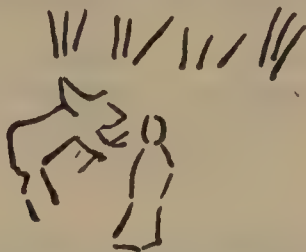


"Yes, let us go where the men are." — "No, because this woman and I are stuck together at the shoulders." Beside the pair was an embankment. The man fell over and pulled the woman after him, so Wic'o'-wic'aga went forward.

10.

He came over another ridge and saw beautiful flowers and streams where a man and a woman were dancing. Beside them was a ridge with

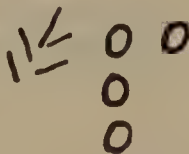
three holes to climb it, but they refused to go on with him because they



were afraid of falling through the holes. When one attempted to climb and fell over, the people cheered.

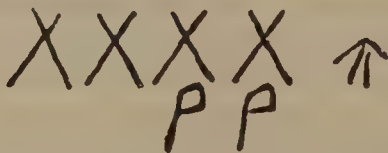
## II.

Wic'o-wic'aga went along and, stepping on the three holes, reached the top.



## I2.

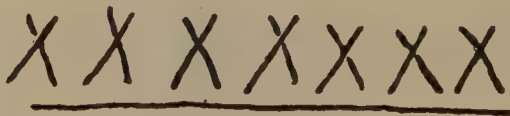
He saw a very large camp. Some kept ghost lodge. Other things were



going on. They were rich and had plenty to eat, nice spotted horses, and everything prosperous. They said, "We are the Huka'."

## I3.

He saw seven tipis on each of which was drawn a different picture.



The one on the end had no picture at all.

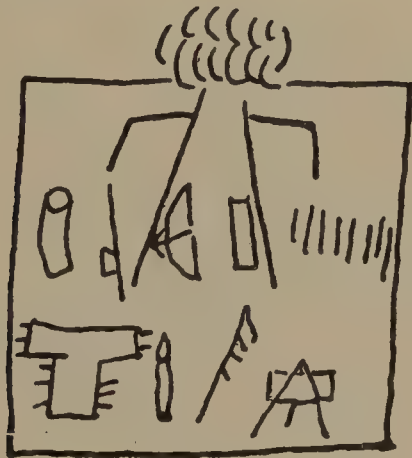
## I4.

A man said to him, "Go to that end tent and you will see ten white-headed men and they will tell you about the rest of your journey." The old men sang:

The Mawa'tani say  
This life is very hard,  
It is hard to be a man!

A tent stood at a distance facing him. It had the marks of a man's hand on either side. The top extended into a white cloud. A man appeared and told him to come in. He saw well-dressed men and women. The man gave him a present of eight articles — a food-container, pipe, bow and arrow, medicine bag, hair-shirt (of skin decorated with human hair), eagle feather, pole with feathers attached, remains of the dead. He said, "These hand-prints are what other people say bad about me. The first gift represents food; always be liberal. When some one is feeling bad, take this pipe and let him smoke it and give him some good advice. There are a great many enemies about; always remember that you have a bow and arrows. With this medicine-bag search out all the herbs that will cure and do good among the people. Be sure to be the first to strike the enemy and you will earn this feather and the chiefs will get together and put this shirt upon you. Take this emblem (the *huka'* symbol) with you so that it will remind you to be good to those who are poor; see that they get help from you. Those (of your dead) whom you think most of, keep their spirits with you for at least twelve moons and during that time live a good life."

Wic'o-wic'aga went on with all these presents. He has continued his journey up to the present time. Just as he went through trials and tribulations and got gifts for his reward, so people say that those who endure hardship in a manly way will enjoy the privileges of a good man — of great men like Red Cloud.<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> The Handbook of American Indians says of Red Cloud, "A principal chief of the Oglala Teton Sioux of Pine Ridge Res., the largest band of the Sioux nation, and probably the most famous and powerful chief in the history of the tribe." His dates are 1822 to 1909. He was not a hereditary chieftain but gained ascendancy through character and daring alone. As a warrior he had "counted 80 coups... in battle." A monument is erected to him in the Roman Catholic cemetery near the agency.



## INTERPRETATION

The story represents the generations of the Sioux Indians, who started with seven bands.<sup>1</sup> They migrated westward and acquired ponies. The different groups whom Generation overtakes on his journey to keep pace with the progressive members of his tribe represent different causes of failure, generally due to an unsuccessful marriage. The trouble with the newly married couple is that their relations have died and they do not know how to keep a home. The entangled are those who would like to leave their wives but cannot. The hunter laughs at tribal matters and does not share in the tribal life. The husband has no mind of his own but is ruled by his wife and hence is unprogressive. The men in the three tipis have made bad marriages (and are too greedy to think of others); they do not follow the generations of men. The man stuck to his wife thinks too much about her to get ahead. The two at the tent of happiness started to follow but were carried away by love of pleasure. Only those who are strong enough in mind and body to break away from such earthly enjoyments show advancement.

The seven tents on which pictures are drawn represent those who have been successful. The first tent is decorated with the footprints of horses, indicating that the owner has stolen horses from the enemy. The second tent has pictures of people's heads; this is for the man who really kills the enemy. Whenever an Indian kills many enemies he has a right to decorate his tent in that way. The third tent has pictures of eagles' feathers; this is for the man who first strikes the enemy. In battle with an enemy the first one who strikes down one of the enemy is called A'tayela kte; he "kills him direct." He is permitted to wear one eagle feather. All then rush to be the second man to count coup, and O'k'ihe strikes the enemy. The third fellow to stab him is Iyam.ni, the fourth Ito'pa. After that, those who strike are not counted. It must be proved that they really struck the blows in this order. The fourth tent is the T'ao'pi tent, decorated with round red spots with red streaks running down from them to indicate that the occupant has been wounded. The fifth tent is the Wakan ihambala, the tent of the holy dreamer. His tent is decorated with the animal he has dreamed of. The sixth is the Huka'kic'iyapi decorated with the huka' horsehair pipe to denote that the man has a big heart, gives freely and is kind to everybody.

The Hunkacinyapi refers to the huka' custom which a man uses to honor his firstborn child or his son or daughter-in-law or any person

<sup>1</sup> Dakota Grammar, J. O. Dorsey, 156—163; 183—188; Handbook of American Indians, Part 1, 378; Part 2, 109—110, 579; Siouan Indians, McGee; Fiftieth Annual Report, 160—161. For the seven divisions of Sioux tribal organization see also Osage: 36th Annual Report, 201, for "The Hongan (people of earth) who possess sevenfireplaces;" 69, for the camp arrangement by sevens; and 76, for the seven military honors to be won by warriors.

whom he wishes especially to honor. He takes the symbol and waves it over the person to drive away from him all bad thoughts and feelings, and says "This is my *huka'* — my first" and gives away something in his honor. The *huka'* meanwhile sits passive while the ceremony is performed. If he should say anything he would be reproved because this is his first *huka'*. The symbol consists of a long stem with horsehair at the top and twelve feathers below, wrapped between with the skin of a duck's neck. This is a home custom not connected with war but employed to prepare the person to live a good life.<sup>1</sup>

The seventh tent is the *tipi iyo'k'ihe* or council tent, made by throwing two tents together for the holding of a tribal council.<sup>2</sup> The old men are the *Miwatani*, members of one of the many societies among the Sioux "and representing those men who live up to the highest standard of courage and virtue." The name is said to be derived from the word *mi'la*, meaning a "knife," and means in effect that the knife is chief. The members of this society are not afraid to die in battle. Many of them carry over their left shoulder and under their right arm a strip of animal's skin decorated with porcupine work and crow feathers alternatively, with a long strip at the end wrapped with porcupine to the end of which is attached a decorated picket-pin. This coil of string is tied under the right arm to the shoulder strap. When pursued by the enemy in battle, they untie the coil and drive the pin into the ground in token that they will stand their ground and give battle.<sup>3</sup>

The great *tipi* enfolded in clouds is the Ghost Lodge.<sup>4</sup> Those who follow the course which *Wic'o-wic'aga* traveled and come to the end of their journey will live in this tent. The man who keeps the ghost lodge is the *Wana'-gi-yu-ha* or "Owner-of-the-ghost." If a man loses a child he will weep for it; he may even go so far as to attempt to kill himself. Then his friend says, "Be brave and do not attempt to harm yourself. I will keep the ghost of your child." The friend will cut a lock of hair from the front of the head, a moccasin also if it is a child, and wrap it up care-

<sup>1</sup> Dakota, Riggs, 161—162; Walker, 122—140; Omaha, J. O. Dorsey, Third Annual Report, 276—282; Mandan, 370.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 35 in this collection.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 23 in this collection.

<sup>4</sup> See *Siouan Cults*, J. O. Dorsey, Eleventh Annual Report, pages 487—498; *Wahpeton Dakota*, Skinner, 299—301, 304. The Rev. Mr. Walker at Fort Thompson showed a model of an Indian ghost lodge secured while in actual use in 1889. Three poles about the length of a walking-cane formed the frame, which, when set up, was tied to three stakes driven into the ground. These stakes were smoothed and polished below and decorated above. At the intersection of the poles was hung a bundle containing a lock of hair of the deceased. A poker or shovel of wood shaped flat and decorated along the handle was used to scatter incense from the sacred fire in the center of the lodge. On a fine day such a ghost lodge was taken outside and set up in front of the lodge and presents were given away.



fully in the fine tanned skin of some animal. This is put into a decorated container made round and long and hung on top of a tripod. On fine days the tripod is brought out into the open. At other times it is kept within the tent.

Only the best and largest tent may be used to house such a bundle. The man who tends the lodge must keep himself very clean and wear the best clothes that he can obtain. As long as he remains tender of the lodge he must speak ill of no man and tell no lie; he must be a perfect example for others to follow. His wife accompanies him in the work and must conduct herself in the same manner. She will ask other young women who can do good bead or porcupine work to accompany her in the tent and make articles of use and beauty to put into the container that holds the spirit. While they are in the tent the women must conduct themselves well. Neighbors often come to visit the tender of the lodge and if he is inside they will go in and sit down and all smoke and talk sensibly; no one is allowed to spit. Much respect is paid to the tender of a lodge; when he is seated no one must pass in front of him.

Before anyone eats, food must be carried into the ghost lodge and placed inside and the tender is the first to throw a little piece of food on the ground and say, "*Wanagi, yu'ta po*," that is, "Ghosts, eat that;" then all may eat. Property is also brought to keep with the ghost, and many heads of ponies. It is customary for the person who gives to the ghost, or who throws down food, to accompany the gift with a prayer for the accomplishment of his desire, as "Help me to get a buffalo!" or some other wish. (Fielder recalled that, when he was a boy, a neighbor kept a ghost lodge as big as the schoolroom in which we were sitting, the floor of which was strewn with sage leaves and about the edge were heaped beautifully decorated *wok'p'q*; outside were pastured three hundred head of horses.) Besides these gifts to the ghost, an assistant burns for the ghost incense of sweet-grass (*wac'q'ga*) and other aromatic plants. He later helps in the redistributing of the property.

Not necessarily is a single ghost tended; others may be added. Thus the lodge may be kept up for two or three years. When the time comes for the *waki'c'aga*, that is the "redistribution," the man who tends the lodge will appoint a day for the ceremony of freeing himself from the custodianship of the ghost. Sticks with little carved-out heads are lined up to denote the number of ghosts. A blanket represents a man's ghost, a beaded buckskin dress a woman's. The people all sit in a great circle. The owner of the lodge gives them a feast and all the articles are brought out and hung on poles. Without any written record, this man becomes proficient in remembering what each person has given him to keep with the ghost. Each ghost is given back to the parents and the property and ponies are redistributed.

There is also a belief that the spirit of the dead remains at a burial place. The Sioux placed the bodies of their dead in the fork of a tree; they had



a dread of being buried underground. The horse, saddled, was killed and left beside the man, and other valuables were left beneath the platform where his body rested. The belief was that if anyone took away such things "the owner would be after him<sup>1</sup>."

### 3. SOMETHING ABOUT THE INDIAN<sup>2</sup>

To start with I should like to tell how they made fire. These Indians claim they were camped near the ocean where there was a big camp. An Indian started out and saw a piece of rotten wood. He cleaned it off and broke off a dry piece of soap-weed — the central stalk — and put it into the hole and worked it, trying to get it through like an augur, and after a while the wood began to burn. Before that they had no fire; thus they learned how to make fire. He kept blowing it and an Indian began to smell it and said, "What is that man bringing?" At first they thought it was fog, then they smelled it and found it was fire. They put sticks against it and the sticks caught. They fried raw meat against it and found it smelled good. So thus they all began to start fires and roast meat. Thus the fire started with the Indians. (The fire never goes out in an Indian village. They keep a big cottonwood log burning all night — even move with it.) The name of the man who started the fire was Nostrils (we have an Indian on this reservation today by the name of Two-Nostrils).

Now there was a man holding both his hands stretched up and dancing in the village. So they said, "Better go stop that man — he is crazy." Four men went to stop him and he said, "Get alongside of me and do what I do." When he drew his hand in and began to touch his face, it turned black just like paint. So the man said he was going to give a lecture. He told the Indians there were many different kinds of trees among the timber but among them all one had a round leaf like a person's heart and that was what it represented. They must look for a tree having that kind of leaf and bring one that was straight and long. So they got a straight cottonwood tree and brought it to the center of the village and put it up like a flag-pole. At that time they had straight pipes; so the man smoked and pointed up and said: "God, the Father, the tree's leaves are just like the man's heart. All shall love this tree hereafter and all get together around this tree." That was the sun dance. The village was encamped in a circle leaving a gap. The tree was brought in through the gap. Those who brought in the tree — always a cottonwood tree — must rest four times before getting there (to the hole in the center where the tree was to be set up). The hole was dug down exactly the size of the tree

<sup>1</sup> For further burial customs see No. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Left Heron, July 15, 1928. For similar rationalistic accounts of the origin of culture see Arapaho, page 7 and note page 8; compare Cheyenne, Kroeber, JAFI, 13: 163, 164; Early Cheyenne, Grinnell, JAFI, 20: 168—173.

and a bunch of leaves tied up was (placed) in the hole. Ropes were tied to the tree to let it down and everybody shouted the instant it was set up. (The man said) "This tree is going to save you people and give you long life, so you must be happy when you put it up." They cut a buffalo out of hide and put it into the fork of the tree and a man out of hide, and they tied up tobacco and little sticks and put them up on the tree. They cut a cross in the ground and placed a buffalo head upon the cross. The cross represents the different directions — north, south, east, west. The man who put up the pole, whether because he saw it in a dream or some person told him, said, "I am going to have red earth to paint with." Just before sunrise the sky looks red; that is what the red paint represents. People generally paint themselves with yellow clay to represent a sunny day. Black paint represents night. White (paint) stands for snow.<sup>1</sup>

Just about this time the sweat-house was inaugurated. They clean off the paint in the sweat-house. If you can stand a little suffering, if you drop a little blood, you get what is promised.

A woman imagined that she heard ghosts and she could not sleep, so she sent for me. I smoked some weed on the fire and she went to sleep and the next day she was all right. Sometimes a man gets paralyzed in the eye and although he is no doctor he uses the same weed and stops it. I have another weed I use for bleeding wounds or bleeding through the nose or mouth. These two are common weeds. Once while I was dreaming a man came to me. He said, "They say they can't raise a ghost, but the time is coming when they can." This man in the dream had the (first) weed. The other (weed) a man kicked to me who came to me in sleep

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<sup>1</sup> See Sun Dance of the Plains Indians, by Spier, pages 450—527, for the distribution of the Sun Dance among Plains Indians and the diffusion of particular traits. Spier concludes that the Arapaho, Cheyenne and Oglala form the center of dispersion although the Oglala are probably not among the originators (491, 494). Although objective traits are similar, the subjective differ among the three. Their explanations of the dance differ: the Cheyenne explain it as a means of reanimating the earth; the Arapaho "equate the sun dance to their age societies." The Cheyenne culture hero learns the rite in a dance lodge underground and returns to teach it to his people; the Arapaho connect the dance only casually to their general origin myth (502, 503, 508).

The dance centers about the erection of a central pole in the camp circle, the cutting of which is treated like an attack upon an enemy (465—467). The formation of warriors in a sun dance parade resembles that of warriors after a battle (cf. Arapaho, 378). Spier considers the torture a secondary feature (462, 474, 491) and it does not appear other than casually in this account. Other traits of the dance here described are discussed by Spier in relation to their distribution. For the Oglala Sun Dance see Walker. Compare No. 29 in this collection for present-day survivals among the Oglala Dakota.

with a pack of things that he was playing with. The man himself turned into a black spider on the weed. So I use this weed to stop bleeding.<sup>1</sup>

I will tell you how the Indians first saw a horse. There was a great storm with lightning and a big black cloud. And some one discovered something on the hill away from the village. One called them to come and look. It was an animal with four legs turned the other way (but the head facing the village) and a long tail. This was the first horse they had ever seen and they thought the lightning-storm had brought it.<sup>2</sup> The Indians surrounded a band of buffalo and in the midst they saw an animal that was not a buffalo. So they said, "Don't kill it! save that!" It was a horse, and the Indians cut off a rope of hide and found him to be gentle. He smelled differently from a human being. They thought it might be a dog, only he was bigger than a pack-dog, so they named him Šu'ka wak'a', "Mysterious Dog."

#### 4. THE STORY OF IRON HAWK<sup>3</sup>

A little tribe lived near the ocean. An old man and his wife lived near. One morning the wife went out for wood to start a fire and she heard a cry. She looked in a stump and found a child, a boy. The cord was still there as if he had not been born. She picked up a piece of wood and cut off the cord and brought the child into the house. He cried and cried and the old man painted the boy with red paint and grease.<sup>4</sup> They made a smoke out of a weed and smoked him and he stopped crying and went to sleep. The old man said, "This is night-time. That means everybody goes to sleep. In the morning the sun will rise and everything will shine; then we shall arise. The sun sees everyone. He may pick persons out for old age even though they are poor. Perhaps you will be one of those."

The next morning when the parents awoke the child was sitting up and looking all around. The old man saw that he was looking about at everything in the lodge. He said, "That is right; you should notice all you see. Now there is a man coming from the East. He notices everything. When he sees you he will pick out certain things to help you. Although you are poor these may help you to reach old age." When the

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<sup>1</sup> This digression in regard to Left Heron's skill as a healer and the dreams by which he came by his knowledge of healing herbs is interpolated into the story at this point and does not belong to the main course of the tale.

<sup>2</sup> See Dakota, Mallery, Tenth Annual Report, 292, where the incident occurs in a Yanktonai Calendar history. The connection between the horse and the lightning is brought out in No's. 11 and 12.

<sup>3</sup> Told by Left Heron at Pine Ridge, July 17, 1926.

<sup>4</sup> In Blackfoot, 126—127, Whirlwind Boy asks his mother to paint the baby's forehead red to make it stop crying. Walker says (Oglala, 159), that the smoke of sweet grass and red paint are pleasing to the good spirits.



sun went down at night the child began to cry again, so the old man painted him again and smoked him with the weed and rubbed him with it all over his body.

The next morning the child was standing up before the old people awoke. The old man said, "That is right, boy; this is holy earth and you are going to walk on the earth. It is on the earth that you are going to be brought up. When the day comes there is a man coming from the East. He notices everything. When he thinks that a man who is on the earth should live, he will live to old age, even until he leans upon a cane. It is the man called 'Giver-of-all-life'." At night the boy cried again. Again he was painted and smoked. The old man said, "There is a man who puts all the animals and birds to sleep during the night. When the yellow day comes that is another man; then all awake."

The next morning the child was the first one outside the lodge. The old people went out and found him looking all about. "That is right! you are going to walk all about, travel all over the earth," said the old man. At night the child began to cry and again he was painted and smoked and the old man said, "There is a man at night who puts all creatures to sleep even though they have wings or walk over the earth. And in the morning another man comes who sees those who wish to live to old age, even those who will lean upon a cane." Then he told him that this was the last night he was going to paint him; after this he must go to sleep by himself. He said, "I wish that this grandson of mine may grow at once as large as he is to be; I wish for him clothing, leggings, quiver; I wish him to be a good-looking man."

The next morning the child was grown a fine-looking man and the clothing and quiver were there. The old man took the boy to a high knoll above the village and showed him to the people of the village. He told them how he had brought up this abandoned child. He gave him a name — C'eta'-Maza, that is, Iron Hawk. After they came home the old man took an animal rib and straightened it up and made a bow and cut off four cherry-stick arrows, two with blunt ends (for shooting small birds), two with sharp points. He held up a hair from his own head. The child shot with a sharp-pointed arrow and cut the hair in two. "You will be one of the best of shooters," said the old man.

The next morning the boy went out with his arrows and brought back a big jack-rabbit.<sup>1</sup> So they cleaned and cooked the rabbit. The old man said, "The rabbit goes about almost all night, he is industrious. This is a good meat for you to eat as your first meat; you will be industrious and able to travel at night." The next day he brought a skunk. The old man said, "This animal eats all kinds of small creatures — anything he can

<sup>1</sup> For the gift of weapons and success in hunting as a succession from small animals to large, compare Wahpeton Dakota, JAFL 36: 81; Shoshone, JAFL 37:46 (Bloodclot); 110 (Coyote's nephew); 185 (Old woman's grandson); 229 (Centipede); Pawnee, 90 (Ready-to-give); 163 (Woodpecker boy).

pick up. He is a good medicine: he will make you fat." The next day he brought back a badger. "Grandfather, come out and look!" he shouted. The old man said, "The badger eats nothing but flesh. He is an earth animal — he lives and digs in the earth. This food means that you also must live on the earth. It is good food for you." The next day the boy was gone (all day) and when he came back (at night) he threw down something heavy. It was a white-tailed deer. The old man said, "Early in the morning and late in the morning the deer picks out good things to eat. He goes among the young trees and eats the cherries and the young leaves. He tastes all that is good. So the deer-flesh will strengthen you well. The fifth morning the boy brought a buffalo calf. The inside gut (called the "marrow gut") he washed out clean and filled with marrow for the old man, and told him the liver was to be eaten raw and the fat was to be cooked in the pot. After this meal the old man went to the knoll overlooking the village and announced to the people what his grandson had done for him.<sup>1</sup> Now the old man and woman were the Meadowlark and his wife.<sup>2</sup> The lodge spoken of is the nest in which they live. From that day the meadowlark has the name "Marrow Gut;" "*T'aš'i'yaknuṣpa*", an old Indian when he listens hears the meadowlark says. Many a word the lark utters an Indian can understand. The

<sup>1</sup> For ceremony of taking a new name see Omaha, Third Annual Report, 324—325.

<sup>2</sup> For the lark guardian see Wahpeton Dakota, JAFI, 36: 85; Cheyenne, JAFI, 34: 309. In Crow versions of the "Old woman's grandchild," (Lowie, pages 53, 57, 69; Simms, page 300) the boy is forbidden to throw stones at the meadowlarks because they "talk your language." In Mandan, 360, the grandson of "the old woman in the moon" is very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals." He is forbidden to kill the prairie larks, and, though he shoots "all his arrows" at them, he is unable to kill any. One bird says to him "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" In Arapaho stories of Found-in-grass the twins shoot at Thunder Birds, or in one version (page 369), at a "little bird" which they have been forbidden to hurt, and a whirlwind blows one away and drops him as a shabby child (Burnt Belly) in a bunch of grass beside an old woman's door. Compare Gros Ventres, 79. "Birds of all kinds" adopt "Child of the animals" in Skidi Pawnee, 178. In the Skidi Pawnee origin story, 20—23, the boy-child of the first boy and first girl is lured by a meadowlark as messenger to the lodge of four old men who teach him the songs and give him the bundles for crops and buffalo.

In the Pawnee Pipe-stick Ceremony, Dorsey, page 56, on the third night of the ceremony a child is painted to represent that "the sun had touched the child." It is then made to stand up on an oriole's nest. "This was to teach that the child should grow up to be either a man or woman. . . for the powers of Tirawa were now upon it (the painting). The oriole makes its nest high up in the trees. The storms never blow it away. Snakes can not get to its nest, and its young ones are always safe." According to Walker, page 129, the meadowlark is a symbol of fidelity.



larks are clever birds. Their nest is made on the ground out of grass, oval like a wigwam, with a hole where they can go inside out of the rain. The magpie is a clever bird also. He builds a roof, only it is in the tree and he stays in there all winter.

The young man now wanted to travel westward. The old man warned him against it and gave him a cap with two hawk's feathers and told him to wear it wherever he went<sup>1</sup>. On the hill the youth met four men painted like a snake's trail from the mouth down to the legs and from the eyes down the arms. One said, "Here is the man who was reared where the sun rises. His name is Iron Hawk. What has brought you here?" The boy said that he was looking for a wife. They all went on together and came to a lodge where human bones were lying about outside. An old woman came out leaning upon a cane and called to the girls inside to come out and see her sons-in-law. With the walking-stick she could kill whatever she touched. So she invited the men to approach and all four of the painted men she struck as they passed her and killed, and she tried to kill Iron Hawk but could not and when she turned he shot at her with a blunt arrow and broke her backbone. Then he brought out the four girls and went to each of the four men and took him by the arm and raised him up. He gave them the four women and bade them come to him when he called for help. These four men were the Lightnings. The old woman was one of the Rock People whom the Indians call *Ūkce'gila* (Petrified bones) and who do all sorts of harm on the earth. These he charged them to kill wherever they saw them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The live eagle's feathers with which a warrior decorates his head have symbolic value as allying him with the heavenly powers. In the Cheyenne story of Falling star the Meadowlark pulls out two of his own quills to feather the arrows he is making for his grandson. Lightning wears a downy feather in his scalp-lock in the Skidi Pawnee cosmogonic story, page 14. In Blackfoot, 45, "the plume in Rock's hair whirled in the air, and kept the smoke from his face." See also the fine feather placed in the hair of the "first child born of woman," Omaha, J. O. Dorsey, 172; the cap of living woodpeckers which decorates the hero's head in *ibid.* 606; Pawnee, 159, 163; Skidi Pawnee, 87, 178, 243, and note 146 page 344; and the stuffed hawk tied to the scalp-lock in Crow, Simms, 291. "Old woman's grandson," of the Northern Shoshone, 275, always wears a bird on his head. In the stories of the Hoop and Arrow game and of the Buffalo Wife, numbers 8 and 9 in this collection, the hero is able to escape danger by turning himself into the magic feather which he wears. In early Cheyenne stories (JAFL, 20: 169), the "sacred buffalo cap" is said to have been brought to the Cheyenne by the Suhtai corn culture hero and is guarded in a special lodge (172, 192—194). In Left Heron's story of the Wizard and his wife (Oglala, Walker, 203—210), the grandmother gives her grandson a gray bonnet which renders him invisible. The cloud seems to be here symbolized under cover of which a war band may advance close to an enemy.

<sup>2</sup> The visit to Thunder Bird's nest is a common quest undertaken by the sky-born hero either at the command of a magician in order to destroy



Peeping over the top of the next hill he saw a great village. As he turned toward a lodge he met a man dressed in yellow with a quiver made out of the skin of a mountain lion. The man said, "You are the man reared where the sun rises. What are you after?" The youth said he was after a wife. Now in the great lodge of the village there lived a young woman and her sister whom many men courted but none had won. In the bottom of a pit was to be seen something that looked like a great dish but was in reality wampum shells. Anyone who secured the shells would have the woman. So Iron Hawk and the yellow man agreed to try for them together and take the two women. The yellow man said they must first undress, then he caught the boy's left wrist with his right hand and shouted "Go!" The boy jumped, but the yellow man sprang back and let the boy go down alone. Then he left him in the bottom of the pit, put on his fine clothes and went away to the village.<sup>1</sup> As the boy stayed there

a guest whom he fears, or against the warning of a benevolent guardian. In the Pawnee tale of Handsome Boy (149, 150) the Lightning men are given to the boy by Thunder himself when he attempts the rifling of the nest. Regarding them as dangerous to mankind, Handsome Boy sends them away to dwell in the four quarters of the earth. In Walker's Oglala story (173) of how West Wind gained precedence of the winds, the tree, nest and eggs belong to the winged god, Waki'ya. The old woman is equivalent to the scalping woman in the Cheyenne story (JAFL 34:315), and to the old woman in Lowie's Crow story (52—74) who attempts to rid herself of Moon's child by sending him on dangerous quests. Compare Omaha, J. O. Dorsey, 172; Gros Ventres, Kroeber, 82—90; and numbers 7, 8, 9, in this collection. In Mandan, 361, thunder is said to be produced by a huge bird which lives in the mountains, has only "two toes on each foot" and builds a nest "as big as Fort Clarke." "The glance of its eyes produces lightning." The story represents the strife between the Thunder Being and the Rock People which holds so important a place in Siouan mythology.

<sup>1</sup> The clothes-stealing episode is in general told as a trickster story in which the sky-hero is pitted against the pretensions of the Coyote or Ictiniki. In a cosmogonic story of the Skidi Pawnee, Fool Coyote sends Wolf to earth to make mischief because he is jealous of Bright Star who has sent to earth Lightning and entrusted him with a sack containing the occupants of a heavenly camp. Wolf steals the sack, overturns the heavenly order and brings death to earth. In Mandan, 365, a young man who wishes to marry the woman who has chosen the "lord of life" for a husband "took the dress of the lord of life," in which he had appeared to her and tries to pass himself off as "of a superior nature." He is detected and the lord of life lets down two long lines from the sun to earth and bids her to "climb up by the lines." Compare Skidi Pawnee, 14—20; Arapaho, 376—378. In a Shoshone Coyote story, JAFL 37:2—4, Coyote steals the magic bag and gets into trouble. In Cheyenne, Kroeber, JAFL 13: 170—176, "White Man" is the thief.

The trick takes three forms: pushing into a pit as in this episode; sticking to a (stretching) tree by means of a wish (song); and running a race. For the first see Crow, Simms, 291; Northern Shoshone, 275; Skidi Pawnee, 180.

crying an old woman looked down and saw him, let down a rope and pulled him out. When he came out his handsome clothes were gone and he was an ugly-looking boy. The old woman and her husband took him to her lodge and she gathered up the yellow clothes also and took those along.

Food was scarce in the village. The youth sent the old woman to the village to get some sinew. When she asked for old pieces, a woman brought her some fine sinews. The youth twisted them into rope and showed the old woman how to make snares with slip-knots which he hung all about inside the lodge. Then they went outside and when they returned, they found ducks, chickens, all kinds of birds caught in the snares. The youth bade them clean the birds and save the feathers. Then he sent his grandmother to borrow a kettle. She demurred, but when she went, she met the same woman, who, when she heard what the grandchild wanted, gave her the biggest kettle in the camp. They gathered all the feathers into the kettle and carried it to the creek and upset it into the water and said, "Come alive so that all the people may eat you in future." Just the same birds came alive, — ducks swimming, birds flying as before. Then they went back to the lodge, cooked up the plucked birds and invited all the people to come and eat. The first one to come was the yellow man, who called himself Iron Heart. All were glad when they had feasted.<sup>1</sup>

The boy told the old man to get a grape-vine stock and the old woman to soak a piece of rawhide without the hair. Out of the hide the old man cut around, cut around, and cut a long strand with which he tied the vine into a hoop and netted it, leaving a hole in the center. The youth tied some buffalo hairs through the hole with sinews and told his grandmother to hold up the hoop and say "*Pte ro cinca*," that is "Four-year-old buffalo," and make a motion to throw the hoop but not to throw it (until the fourth time). She repeated these words and made three motions and the fourth time she threw it and he shot through the hole and there lay a four-year-old buffalo.<sup>2</sup>

For the second, Wahpeton Dakota, JAF<sup>L</sup> 36: 77; 86; Skidi Pawnee, 244; Omaha, J. O. Dorsey, 55; Arapaho, 78—80 (a stretching mountain peak); Oglala, Walker, 192. In a fragmentary Coyote story, Skidi Pawnee, 253, the clothing is taken from the house while the boy is away; in Pawnee, 280, Crow Feathers gets Animal Boy's fine clothes by tricking him into turning himself into an eagle and then wishing him to remain such.

Number 13 of this collection is the same story in extended form. In Riggs's Dakota version (page 143) the returned culture hero punishes Iktomi and restores the people to life.

<sup>1</sup> The Omaha have a ceremony before going out on a war party which centers about certain sacred bags filled with red, yellow and blue feathers and the skins of small birds consecrated to the thunder or war god. See, Omaha, J. O. Dorsey, Third Annual Report, 319—321.

<sup>2</sup> For the custom of calling the buffalo with the ring and hoop game see the Pawnee origin story for the Buffalo ceremony, pages 17, 23, 362—369;



The next morning the old man (the "yellow man" mentioned earlier) announced that a red fox was to run through the village early in the morning and a red eagle would fly over it at night and whoever shot them was to have their skins hung on his lodge.<sup>1</sup> Just at sunrise came the fox. The old man shot at it, missed it, — something caught at him and made him miss, he said. The boy prepared to shoot but he told the woman to pull out its hair as fast as she could for some one would take it from him. Sure enough, when he shot it some Indians came and took away the skin. At noon came Red Eagle right over the lodge. The man missed again, said he caught the end of his blanket. The boy shot it and the woman pulled out a handful of feathers before the Indians came and took it away.

Now came the sister of the woman in the big lodge to ask for food. They treated her kindly and sent her back with meat. She came again crying because her sister had scolded her. She had come to marry the youth because the woman had heard that it was he who had killed the Red Fox and the Red Eagle. She invited him over to the lodge to live with his wife.

He told his grandmother that the woman must first pronounce his name Iron Hawk before he would go. When she called him he told her to go on and he would follow. He rolled on the ground and turned into a buffalo, followed the woman and made a dash at her. She stepped aside and he sprang through the lodge. When she came to the lodge to call him again he was a boy as before; when he followed her he was a buffalo — first a calf, then a young buffalo, then older, finally a big buffalo. This last time she came she said, "Iron Hawk, I have come after you!" He urged her not to be frightened. Now he came like an old buffalo with the horns almost worn off. "That is the Messiah! he can transform himself into anything," they said. The woman fell upon the buffalo's head. The

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Skidi Pawnee, "Bloodclot Boy," page 85 and note 145, page 343, and plate op. page 254; Arapaho, 370—372, 346, 355 and page 350 where the custom is said to be common to both Pawnee and Wichita. Compare No. 8 of this collection.

<sup>1</sup> This marriage test and the rival's treachery, which results in the marriage of the poor boy to the younger sister and the subsequent disgrace of the contemptuous older sister and of the pretentious rival, is a common episode in Siouan tales of the skyborn hero. See Wahpeton Dakota, JAFI, 36: 77; Cheyenne, Kroeber, JAFI, 13: 172—176; Omaha J. O. Dorsey, 55—57; 604—609; 172—175; Arapaho 346—349; 372—376; 384—386; Skidi Pawnee 182—184 (without Fox and Eagle); 241—244; Pawnee, 164—167; 279—294; Gros Ventres, 79—82; Blackfoot, 47—52; Crow, Simms, 292—294; Northern Shoshone, 274—275; and numbers 5, 6, 8 of this collection.

It belongs to a common cycle of Indian stories in which claim is made to supernatural powers which the aspirant does not possess, generally in imitation of a rival's superior power.



buffalo turned into a youth and where the nose had struck there was blood on his nose.<sup>1</sup>

The wife's sister had scorned the two and called them "lousy." She was now to have the fox's hide and the eagle's skin hung upon her lodge in order to win honor among the people. The youth also prepared to hang upon his lodge what he had taken from the skins and put away in bundles. When the trophies were brought out for the sister's lodge they were nothing but a coyote's hide and a black crow. When the stranger's bundles were opened which the grandmother had kept for him, they drew forth a whole fox hide and an eagle's skin. Now Iron Hawk bade the grandmother take the yellow suit — leggings, shirt, blanket, cap — to the other lodge and demand from Yellow Spider his own clothes. She obeyed, saying, "Ikto'mi-zila, my grandson told me to bring these here and ask for his own clothes." The next morning before sun-up she returned to her grandson's lodge and there in the bed lay the finest-looking man she had ever seen. He dressed himself in his own clothing and went outside and she summoned the people to see him. The sister held her hand over her eyes, ashamed to see the kind of man she had obtained and the fine man her sister possessed.

It was in the summertime. The youth took his wife into the country and told her to roll and she turned into a buffalo and he turned into a buffalo too.<sup>2</sup> Each took a different way and scattered hairs all over the country, then they turned into human beings again and came back home. In the morning men reported the whole country stocked with game. Five young men at each end of the village went through the camp and picked up all the arrows and he and his wife with these ten men went out to chase the buffalo. The wife turned into a buffalo by rolling and went through the herd and then circled four times about the husband and turned into a person again. The buffalo followed her. The ten men kept the youth stocked with arrows while he shot down the buffalo as fast as they came around him, then he told them to pick up the arrows and cut out the buffalos' tongues.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards he sent the village men to butcher the animals. For the grandmother the people provided without his asking. Each brought him a little dried meat and some pounded meat. They made him a tent also of twenty skins such as a wealthy Indian lives in.

When his wife became pregnant he took her out into the country beyond the hills. She rolled and became a female buffalo and bore a young bull calf which turned into a child to whom they gave the name

<sup>1</sup> Compare Crow, Simms, 293; Blackfoot, 125, where the episode is ascribed as origin of the Bull marriage dance.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Beaver, 237—242; Cheyenne, Kroeber, JAF, 13: 170—172.

<sup>3</sup> Spier notes that a collection of buffalo tongues is made prior to the Sun dance and that a "tongue rite is an occasion for public avowal of feminine virtue." See Sun Dance, Wissler, 463—464, and Blackfoot, 67.

of Red Calf. She brought him out each day to the hill where he was born. In four days he was able to run about. Iron Hawk gave to this son the four arrows that had been made for himself and the gray cap and told the lad of his grandfather Meadowlark whom he was to think of if ever he needed anything.

One day he asked his wife to go swimming with him, but she excused herself until she had finished cleaning a hide, so he went alone. On the other side of the creek a woman called to him to help her across. He turned into a buffalo, swam across and told her to catch hold of his hair and swim across. She said she might lose hold and be drowned. He said she might ride on his neck, but she objected that he might shake her off. At length he allowed her to ride on the small of his back with her head against his withers.<sup>1</sup> Half way across the woman grew great wings and carried him off through a hole in the sky. When his wife came to seek him Iron Hawk had disappeared.<sup>2</sup>

The grandmother appealed to Yellow Spider to recover Iron Hawk,

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<sup>1</sup> For the "Burr Woman" carried across a creek see Skidi Pawnee, 87, 302—303. In a Shoshone story, JAFL 37: 119, Porcupine insists upon riding in Cow's heart across a stream and kills her. In Simms's Crow story, 294, the hero is accustomed to take his wife across a stream by transforming himself into a buffalo bull and letting her hold to his horns.

<sup>2</sup> A visit to the region of the birds (generally to avenge a relative who has been carried away by an enemy) and the consequent introduction of birds to earth is a part of the culture myth. Compare Crow, Lowie, 83—85, 97, 98, where Spring Boy follows his brother who has been carried away by Long Arm up through a hole in the sky. Before coming to Long Arm's camp he passes four camps where little birds live, and invites the people to earth; — "That is why the birds are on earth instead of in the sky." In Wichita, 229—233, the Elk carries Early-Morning-Deer-Slayer away on his horns and attempts to throw him into Thunder-Bird's nest. The hero escapes and takes back in the form of birds the people in the towns he has passed through. In a Shoshone story, JAFL 37: 112—113, a big-winged monster carries Coyote's nephew to the sky, but he escapes "through the sky-hole to the earth" in a wind storm. A Blackfoot story of the two wonder boys carries one to the sky following a bird up a stretching tree; the other follows on a plume. In this story (46, 53) the two boys remain in the sky as stars. Compare JAFL 36: 403. In the Pawnee Long-Tooth-Boy (493—494), a witch in bird form carries the father away to the skies. The brothers follow and rescue him. In the origin story of the Pawnee for the Pipe-stick ceremony (52—56), a water-monster takes the boy to "animal country" and afterwards the birds come to him in dream and teach him their songs. "At this time the Skidi did not know that there were birds and eagles," says the story.

In the Osage chant of emergence there are four upper worlds, the highest inhabited by birds who are human souls. The unformed Osage travel through these worlds to obtain the souls and thence descend to earth by means of a red oak tree. The male red bird gave them souls and the female, bodies. See Osage, J. O. Dorsey, *Sixth Annual Report*, 378, 379.



but he did not wish to find him and gave the woman a push. She said, "Remember that what you wish for him will be done to you if ever Iron Hawk comes back."

Red Calf now bade his mother take him to the spot where his father had disappeared and leave him alone there. The boy put on the cap that his father had given him and wished to his grandfather that he might find his father. The cap turned the boy into a hawk and he saw the buffalo's track on one side of the river and the woman's on the other. So he flew to the middle of the channel and there in the middle was a whirling wind. This was his father's trail.<sup>1</sup> He followed it to the sky and went through the hole in the sky to a country where was a village which was the village of the birds called Ski'bibila. A man challenged him and told him that his father had been carried through that way. He went on to the village of the Ikpi'sapa or "Black Breasts," and they too said that his father had passed that way. Again he went on to the village of the "little birds that live among the sunflowers." They told him that his father had been there but had been carried beyond. In the next village he met a man all painted up called Hupuwangli (a grey-colored swallow that lives in the pines). He told Red Calf that his father had been taken further. A fine-looking fellow named Bluebird came up (in the next village) and said the same. In the next village he met the Red Woodpecker, Canruruyaca (Wood burnt red). In the next the bluebird in the pines called Wazi'zĩtkala; in the next, robin, Šišo'ka. Through all these villages his father had passed. The next was Crow village and here too his father had passed through. In the next village he met a man with a breach-clout that hung behind — a man painted white in patches and with scabby eyes. This was Magpie.

As he was leaving the magpie country he met a person who warned him against a little man on the hill who was dangerous. He came to a village between the fork of two creeks. An old woman took him home for the night and told him that tomorrow he might get liver to eat; for a man reared under the sun had been brought there in the shape of a buffalo by a person picked out to capture him, and the next day he was to be killed. The next morning the announcer called all the people together to see the captive who at noon was to be killed and his meat divided. The Calf went also, although the old woman protested that the people were dangerous and could kill all whom they touched. The father recognized his son. There was a Rock Woman fastened to his loins so that he could not move. The boy shot a sharp arrow and the Rock Woman burst to pieces and the father set out running as a buffalo and the son flying as a hawk. When they came to the little man on the hill Red Calf shot him also.

<sup>1</sup> In several of these stories the whirlwind is connected with the ascent to the sky and with the feather which seems to be its symbol. Wissler's discussion, *The Whirlwind and the Elk in the Mythology of the Dakota*, JAF, 18: 257—268, gives it sex symbolism.



The people cried "Let him go! he will kill us all!" He too was one of the mystery people. It looks as if he belonged to the Rock People.

The two passed back through all these bird villages to the last bird village and here the birds had been considering what to do when they came back in order to return Iron Hawk to earth. So they got all the different kinds of wood from the trees and made a great nest and all the birds let him down in the nest through the hole to earth. When they got there they first saw the father-in-law on a hill and he summoned the people, who welcomed them gladly. Yellow Spider too pretended to be pleased, but the grandmother told what a push he had given her and the boy began to beat him with a dirty lodge-skin until he turned into a black spider and ran away. He and his wife were to be seen afterwards with a lot of young ones on their backs.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after Iron Hawk got home a man stood outside his lodge and said, "Iron Hawk, come out; I want to talk to you!" So he went out. The man said, "There is a man in trouble out there to the west. He told me to come and get you." As Iron Hawk was picking up his weapons the wife objected, but the son helped him, saying, "He will come back again." Iron Hawk went with the man. They came to a place where there was a fine lodge. Inside was a man sitting with his blanket over his head. (The man said) "Over here there is a big river and a man came from over the other side of the river and scalped me and went back. You are the only man on earth who can help me." Iron Hawk put on his cap and turned himself into a hawk and flew to the big village. People were gathered about the center of the village. Approaching he saw the man's scalp hung on a pole in the center. Everyone had gathered to see it. Now the people went to play shinny, and Iron Hawk flew to the scalp and carried it away. The people pursued, but one man cried, "You'd better let him alone. That is Iron Hawk. He can do anything!" He brought the scalp back to the lodge and said, "Grandfather, I have the scalp." As directed, he soaked the scalp in water and put it on the man's head; after he got it nicely placed he held it until it stuck just where it had been before. (The old man said) "Now, grandchild, you see some ropes hanging about here? These represent horses. I am a maker of horses. Choose one for yourself." Just at the right was a rather poor hair rope. Iron Hawk took that one. The old man said, "That is the chief horse — a small horse, but the right choice." He sent Iron Hawk to the horses and told him to put the rope about the horse that was the same color as the rope. There were fine-looking horses in the herd but only one that matched the rope — not a fine horse but bay-colored. He approached, and when the horse saw the rope it nickered. Iron Hawk put the rope about its neck and led it to the old man's tent. The old man said it was the right horse — it was not handsome but was the first horse he had made. "In the country you come

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<sup>1</sup> For this episode see story 13 in this collection.

from everybody is going to have a horse and the first herd will be bay-colored, later there will be different colors." Iron Hawk was directed not to look backward until he had reached his home. When he got there the lodges were still standing but not a soul was in sight. He looked back and saw clouds of dust coming and thought it was a storm. From a hill to the east he saw a boy running toward him. This boy was his son. He told Iron Hawk that when the people saw the great dust coming they had fled, fearing some danger, but he had returned in spite of the warning of the people when he saw a man come into the village, for he thought it was his father. (Out of the cloud of dust) horses came into the village, the whole space was covered with horses. The people came back to the village. Iron Hawk gave the young men ropes and they caught horses until each family had four horses apiece. He told them that hereafter they could use the horses to pack their things in moving. The horses left over he kept for himself.<sup>1</sup>

First Iron Hawk made buffalo, then he made horses. From that time the Indians have chased buffalo on horseback.

Iron Hawk now sent his son to his grandfather Meadow Lark to report his condition — that he was chief of a band of Indians and had horses and that the horses were coming west. He told Red Calf if he was ever in trouble to call upon the Lightning People and they would help him. Red Calf came to a hill outside a village. Here was a woman all dressed in yellow. She told him that he must stay with her four nights before entering the village, She showed him a little lodge outside the camp where she lived. Inside he heard a child crying. Within was a young boy nursing a child. The boy told him that his sister had had the child by a man she had been with four nights; now she was gone with another man. The child was crying and fussing. Red Calf shot a red-tailed deer, got a little piece of the liver and put it on the child's tongue, and it stopped crying. He took the skin of the heart, boiled the inside hoof cut to the first bone and made soup, filled the bladder and left a hole for the child to suck. So the child was fed until it got strong enough to sit up. The mother came back, whipped the child and took away the food and went off. Red Calf got another deer. He bade the boy hang up the hoofs and dry them (Indians use the hoofs for necklace and armlets as rattles.) The child got to running around and the boy took his nephew to the hill outside the village and proclaimed his name as "Rattling Hoof" from the ornaments of hoofs which were hung about him. The woman came (and abused the child again). Red Calf sent the boy and the child to a big tree where there was a nest. He called for a lightning-storm to do away with the people in the village. Only the brother-in-law and the child remained. This was the Mountain Lions' camp. They were human

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<sup>1</sup> Compare No's. 5 and 11 in this collection.

beings in the story, but mountain lions scattered out from those who were left in the village.<sup>1</sup>

Red Calf went on now to his grandfather's house, taking the child. The old man was complaining that Iron Hawk had promised to come back and was not there. He welcomed Red Calf and the child Rattling Hoof. He recognized the cap Red Calf wore. He took him to the lodge where he had nursed his father. A small bird outside called "He back!" It was the Škibibi. In the spring of the year this bird talks Sioux and says "Did he come back!" but at no other time of the year. Another bird is called "T'ib.lo'!" (brother) — "Killdeer" the white people say. Meadowlark asked after his father and Red Calf gave the message that he should move west where his father was. But the old man said his life was in danger from a man, wife and son who lived in a deep lake over behind a great hill. So Red Calf called to Lightning and all night there was a storm. In the morning the lake was dry and the man, his wife and son lay on the side of the hill. These were the petrified people — the mysterious Rock People. Up to that time they had killed the birds, now the birds scatter out all over the country.<sup>2</sup>

#### 5. THE GRANDCHILD.<sup>3</sup>

There was a village, and behind it in the valley lived an old woman and a boy. The boy wanted to go to the river to swim, but the woman forbade him. Three times she refused, but the fourth time she said, "Well, my boy, I have had a hard time raising you, nevertheless you may go." The boy took off his moccasins and waded in waist deep. He prayed, "Mighty God, I was born poor and ugly. Water is universally useful and universally cleansing. I am going to dive up-stream and when I come out I want to be the finest-looking man among all people and where my moccasins lie I want to find handsome garments." Then he dived up-stream four times and when he came out he was a different person altogether. He had

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps identical with the episode of Handsome Boy in Pawnee, 424—425.

<sup>2</sup> Equivalent to the episode in No. 12 of this collection where the adopted child frees his guardian from the tyrant who has taken away the game. See also Cheyenne, Kroeber, JAFI, 13: 179—189 where Wolf slays the water monster and the young men marry the Buffalo and Corn women; and *ibid*, 163 where buffalo and corn are obtained out of a spring.

<sup>3</sup> Told by Left Heron, July 18, 1926. Wichita, 106—120, The Deeds of Wets-the-Bed. Skidi Pawnee, 157—167, The Boy and the Horse; 174—178 The Young Eagle and his Grandmother. Pawnee, Dorsey, 68—71, The Poor Boy who married the Chief's Daughter; 156—159, Burnt Belly and his dreams; 206—211, The Poor Boy who wanted to get married. Assiniboine, 134—139, Sore Belly. Arikara, 129—134, The Deeds of Young Eagle; (and see No's. 4 and 11). Cheyenne, JAFI, 13: 170—176, Little Man, the orphan; Siouan, McLaughlin, 45—47.



long hair and a fine strong body and, where the moccasins had lain, there he found handsome garments.

When he went back to his grandmother so finely dressed she did not recognize him and sent him away, telling him it was not the place for so handsome a young man since no one ever came to visit them. Four times he told her, "Grandmother, it is I!" but each time she disputed him. When he told her he was about to travel from her to a different tribe she agreed, not believing it possible that he was really her grandson.

He travelled until he came to a village away from which stood a lodge where a boy lived with his grandmother. The boy invited him in. Although the old woman advised against so fine a youth making a friend of one so poor, nevertheless he claimed the boy as a friend and the two went off to the same river to swim. He told him to take off his moccasins and face up river and pray and then dive four times, and everything happened to the second that had happened to the first boy.<sup>1</sup>

They set out for the village, and the boy told his friend that in the largest lodge lived a chief's daughter whom everyone courted but who took no interest in men. But there was a young warrior with long yellow hair among the foes of the village, who was accustomed to come in and take what he wanted, and her father had said that whoever killed the yellow-haired foe should marry his daughter. As they approached the village an announcer was proclaiming that all the Indians were to come and dance in the circle where the chief's daughter was to watch the dance. Three women came, the chief's daughter, her sister and cousin. They saw the two men, and the chief's daughter sent her sister to see who they were. The young man told the girl that he was a stranger to the village but that the other man belonged to it. She could scarcely believe it, but she went back and reported his words to her sister; meanwhile the two men left the dance.

The two went down to the timber where the women were accustomed to go to draw water. When the women heard where they were everyone came to get water and among them came the chief's daughter, her sister and her cousin. The stranger stood by the path as they came and the chief's daughter sent away the other two girls, saying, "He will say nothing while you are here." The young man told her what he had heard about her marriage to the one who should kill the yellow-haired foe; and he told her that he had had nothing offered him to eat since entering the village. She invited him to her home, and then the other girls rejoined her. As they turned homeward the chief's daughter looked back con-

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<sup>1</sup> For diving to become young or handsome see Wichita, 107, 118, 211, 216, 250; Pawnee, 158; Arikara, 132; Skidi Pawnee, 33, 88; Assiniboine, 135, 136 (goes into a sweat lodge), and note 3 page 135 for further references. It is likely that in the full form of the story the attempt to rehabilitate the friend is the cause of the retransformation, as in No. 37. Supernatural gifts cannot be revealed carelessly to others.

stantly, stumbling against the trees as she went. She made the lodge ready with porcupine robes. She boiled out the grease from some good maribou bones, let it harden like butter, and cut it up to eat with dried meat. Then she dismissed the other two girls and fed the two men herself. "Let us save some of this for our grandmother," said the village man. When they left, she followed them. The other girls saw her go and reported the matter to her father. He sent the announcer to inquire for the two men, but no one knew where they had gone.

They took her with them to the old lodge outside the village. There she had only a part of a buffalo hide to sit on. When the two men came inside, both were as ugly as they were at first. They came and sat one on either side of her. The girl began to feel very unhappy. When her father's man found her and asked her what she was doing there she said, "One of these two men is my husband."

She took her husband back to the big lodge. Her mother would not let her enter, but sent them into a small tent beside the lodge. She even refused them anything to eat, but the old chief insisted they should be fed. The chief assembled the villagers and offered his younger daughter to the man who killed the yellow-haired foe. Meanwhile the stranger demanded more food and again the old chief commanded he should be fed. As the meal ended, a sortie of Indians began just outside the village. While the fight was on the man asked his wife to get him a horse for the fight. She got him a little mule to ride, and as he rode along all the people laughed at him. They got into a swamp and the boy prayed for a spotted horse and a war-bonnet and war-club and to be as handsome as he was before, and all these things happened. He rode to the war, fought the yellow-haired man, took his scalp and rode away from them all so fast that he escaped from them all; then he turned ugly again, got upon his mule and rode home with the scalp.

In the village everyone was claiming to have killed the foe, and nobody paid any attention to the young man on his mule. The wife gave her father the scalp, but it was wrapped up and he did not open it. Nevertheless he fed the man well. When he opened the bundle and found the scalp he set it up on a long pole and said his son-in-law had given it to him and there was to be a big scalp-dance. So the young man sent his wife to dress well for the dance and he went back to his friend at their grandmother's lodge and they both went to swim as before. There they became handsome and finely dressed once more. They took the girl to the dance and then at the big lodge the old chief gave his son-in-law a smoke and gave him his other daughter and fed him well, but he refused to marry the second girl and she went away crying. That is where the saying began about "a woman crying for a man to marry her."

The men were disputing whether to let the man remain in the village or not. One said, "Call Stepping-through-the-Water and let us ask his opinion." Old Spider advised putting up two poles and tying the man up

and butchering him lest they all die. Meanwhile the man knew what they were planning to do. He sent his wife to his friend's lodge outside the village and promised to join her there. Then he took off his clothes and put on a blanket and joined the men at the circle. The men made holes through his wrists and put ropes through and stretched him up to the poles. So he was laughing as if he were not hurt. He asked for the right to say something before he died. Four times he sang a song:

Grandmother, you say I shall be restored, —  
I want a band to come to fight these people.

They took him down and began to stab the man. Then there came a fierce wind and he was free.<sup>1</sup> He rubbed himself just where the holes were and they were well again. Then a band came from the west and stopped on the ridge to fight the people, and a man on a white horse came and asked what he could do for him. He told him to kill all except those in the grandmother's lodge. The people fled north but another band advanced from the north. They fled east; another band came from the east. They fled south; another band came from the south. The people who came in to kill were Thunder and Lightning. The Indians believe that the lightning has wings and rides on a horse.

As for Spider, when they brought him up to the man he said, "You and I are brothers. My father is the eldest and your father is the second, both brothers. Both married sisters. So you and I are relations and you should save me!" But they tied Spider up and he began to sing a song, crying all the time. Then they took him down and shot him to pieces and from his body that was scattered about come all the spiders today.

All the horses belonging to the village they saved and that is how the Indians got their horses. Then they moved to the village where the stranger's grandmother lived, and the other young man found a pretty chief's daughter to marry. When the people asked the two old grandmothers where they got these handsome grandsons — whether they were the children of a son or of a daughter — one of the old women said, "My grandson is the child of neither. I had a tripe-skin bucket and I reached down once and pulled a boy out."<sup>2</sup> And the other old woman said it was exactly the same with her. So this saying is used when a child

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<sup>1</sup> Compare No. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Indians today use the inner skin of the stomach of "a beef" as a bucket for water or to pack away food in. The allusion is to the episode of the child let down from the sky or drawn up from a well in a bucket similarly constructed or made out of buffalo hide.

In the Osage "rite of vigil," when the sacred hawk is drawn from the case the words are sung:

Let the mouth of the pouch unfold  
Then shall the bird come forth.

See La Flesche, *Thirty-ninth Annual Report*, 260—264.



is handsome: "Just like the one the old woman pulled out of the tripe bucket.<sup>1</sup>"

# 6. THE EARTH.<sup>2</sup>

There was a village that had two chiefs. One lived on the west, the other on the east; each claimed his half of the village. The chief on the east went to look for game and left all the people in charge of the chief of the west. He took his wife and children with him but thrust two sticks into his ears so that he might not listen to (the entreaties of) the rest.

An old woman and her grandson lived close to the village without belonging to either side. In spite of the old woman's protest the boy followed him, overtook him about dark and slept outside. The next morning he watered the chief's horses and then, going back to the water, prayed for a buffalo to come out of the water. A fat buffalo came and he shot it. The chief had the buffalo butchered and gave the boy one of the kidneys (which the Indians eat raw). The next time he shot two buffalo and received two kidneys. He did not eat all, but saved a piece of the fat. Some of the kidney he fed to a poor-looking crow who came with the crows to pick up the refuse and then he sent the crow with the piece of fat back to the village. The crow flew over the village and dropped the fat. The people asked Iktomi where the fat came from. Iktomi said that he would follow the chief and if he did not return the people were to move the village and come after him. When the chief saw him coming he prepared meat for him.

"Misu," said Iktomi to the boy, "how do you get all these buffalo?" Iktomi boasted that he was a good shot and would go with him to the river next morning. To prove it he shot at the willows by the river and split the stems; that is how the diamond willow got all those knots on it. The boy jumped about on the bank and the buffalo kept coming out of the river. The boy shot until, when the last buffalo came out, he was out of arrows. He called to Iktomi to shoot. Iktomi missed and the buffalo ripped up the skin at the back of Iktomi's thigh. So the men came and picked up Iktomi and the slain buffalo.

Iktomi proposed that the chief's daughter should marry the boy, but she only laughed at him. The chief ordered leaves to be placed on the ground and the meat laid upon them. All the people sat about and again Iktomi got beside the boy and called him the chief's son-in-law, and all the people laughed. Then the chief admitted that the boy had killed

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<sup>1</sup> *Winy'hicala wale'ga etq' yuhloke k'yu iyec'eca'*<sup>a</sup>.  
Old woman tripe from there pull out just like.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Left Heron at Pine Ridge, July, 1926. Compare "Yellow-top-to-head Woman," Early Cheyenne, Grinnell, JAFL, 20: 173—178, called "the story of the beginning of the people way up on the other side of the Missouri river," and see note to No. 4.

all those buffalo and he offered the boy his daughter. "Misq, now we have gained the day!" said Iktomi.

Iktomi commanded that the grandmother's tent should be placed close to the chief's and announced that on the next day the boy would kill more buffalo. The boy was up at break of day and shot until his arrows were gone, but still he wished for more buffalo until the people could all hunt buffalo also. That is how the buffalo came.

#### 7. FOUR BROTHERS.<sup>1</sup>

Four brothers lived together. The three oldest went hunting while the youngest stayed at home to pick rosebuds for the brothers to eat (a wild fruit like cranberries only larger; two kinds, low bush and high; eaten mixed up with flour to make a kind of gravy).

The youngest asked the three older to stay at home and let him go hunting. As he went along he came to a place cut up by gophers and found a man there. — "You are the Rosebud man; where are you going?" — "Going travelling." — "Let me give you something you will need in travelling." He emptied into the boy's quiver mice from his own and bade the boy when an old woman gave him food to empty it out when she did not see him or it would poison him, but the second time she would feed him properly. He went along to a big black bank. On the flat bottom below he saw a man standing. — "You are the rosebud man?" — "Yes." — "Take this plume and give it to me when you return." He went on to the foot of a tall smooth tree. On the top was a little red bird; a man below was trying to shoot it with an arrow and finally did shoot it. — "Are you the Rosebud man?" — "Yes." — "Take this arrow and bring it to me when you come back." The next man had a gun. Away off on a side hill against the rough ground was a looking-glass; the man took a shot at the glass and broke it in two pieces. This man also gave his gun to the Rosebud man.

The boy came to a big village. He went up to a lodge at the end and an old woman came out. She called four pretty girls out of the lodge, saying, "Here is a man come to see the girls!" He followed her into the lodge. She gave him a pan of food, — rather sticky food. The mice ate it all up and then he put them back into his quiver. She fed him again, this time properly, saying, "Grandson has eaten well."

The boy married one of the sisters. One day her uncle came and challenged him to a game, the defeated one to be killed. By a sloping black bank they were to test jumps. When the man had jumped the people marked the place; the boy remembered his feather plume and jumped as far again. The man said, "These brothers must be messiahs!" He had never been beaten before. The next morning they tried arrow-shooting

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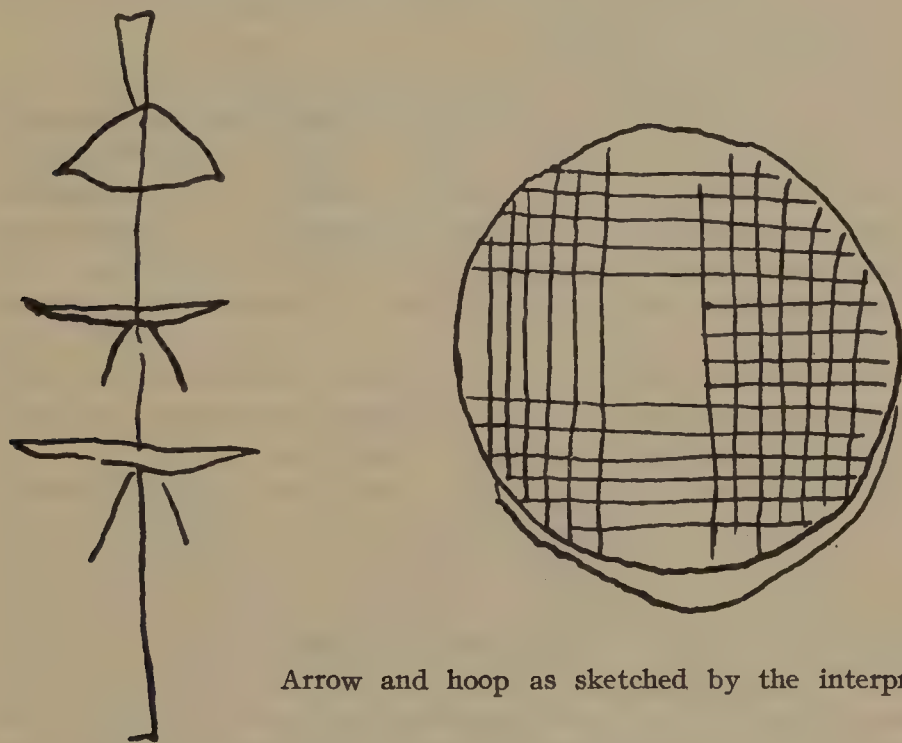
<sup>1</sup> Told by Left Heron at Pine Ridge, July, 1926. See page 382, note 2.

at a bird on the top of a tree. The man came very close, the boy knocked the bird off the tree. The third test came the next day. Both shot at a looking-glass; the man shot just over the top, the boy broke the glass. Then the man was stabbed to death, all the people helping.

The people offered to make him their chief but he chose to go home. The next morning they gave him four more women and he started out with the eight women and left one with each man who had given him a present and gave each of his brothers one and kept one for himself.

#### 8. THE HOOP AND ARROW GAME.<sup>1</sup>

There was a village. Near the village lived an old woman and her son. They were playing the hoop and ring game (*haka' u'pi*).



Arrow and hoop as sketched by the interpreter.

There was lots of stuff bet on the game. Although he had never played the game before, the boy thought he would play. At the first shot he went through the center. He won the game. But a bad man ordered him home and told him he would kill him if he took anything.

<sup>1</sup> Told by Left Heron, June, 1926. Dakota (Oglala), Walker, 183—190; Arapaho, 294—298; Assiniboine, 155; Beaver, 235—237; Biloxi, 99—102; Cheyenne, JAFI, 13: 177—179; Crow, Lowie, 149—151; Gros Ventre, 85—90, 94—96; Pawnee, 286—293; Northern Shoshone, 282; and see No's. 7, 9.



As he went along crying he came to a very old man on a hill. The man asked him what he was crying about and sent him over the hill to see his grandfather. This grandfather was a young buffalo bull. Over the hill was another grandfather, a buffalo bull four years old. Still beyond was another fairly old. A fourth grandfather was really old with horns blunt with age. Over the hill was his grandmother, a young female buffalo.

The old lady promised him that hereafter he should be winner in all kinds of games. She gave him a hoop like that in the game they were playing. Each grandfather bull took his long spine bones and so they gave him four to use for sticks to shoot with — one arrow for each buffalo. The old man finally woke up as he approached. He was a rock man named Yellow Back. He was performing a medicine. He called "Hey-hu! hey-hu!" and two eagles arrived. Again he called and two owls came. Again he called and there came two black crows. Again he called and two red birds came up. All these offered their help. The old man opened his mouth and little pieces of rock dropped out.

Now the boy started for the village. He took as friend the man who had invited him first to play. At daybreak he took his friend out into the country, taking an axe, a knife, scarlet cloth, blue cloth and strips of tanned hide. They made the hoop for the game. (It is of ash wood about four inches large. The sticks are tied one in red and the other in blue. Eagle claws are tied upon them which may catch the hoop.)

The boy was warned not to use the red arrow. The game began and he was offered the red shooter. He threw it down and it broke, then he brought out his own. The boy won every point. They came after him with a tomahawk, but he sat down and bent his head and the attacker's arm was broken. Another kicked the boy; his leg was broken.

(This man demanded payment.) He wanted forty arrows of cherry wood without knots. An old man sitting among the bulrushes gave the boy forty rushes, and as he cut them they turned into cherry sticks. He met a weasel. The weasel gave him the last tooth on his jaw to cut the groove in the arrows with. The man was delighted with the arrows; now he asked for spotted eagle, owl, crow and red-bird feathers. The boy went again crying to the old man and told him what had happened. The old man called the birds again and they gave him their feathers and the red-bird his down. The little old man sitting on a heap of rocks showed him a spot in the soft thin rock where he saw a lot of arrow-points already made. (Now the boy had given the man all the materials for his forty arrows.) The man sent the boy to drive up an old buffalo for him to shoot. The old buffalo bull followed the boy. When the man hit the bull the arrow-point broke. The reason for this was that all the material he had used was false. So the bull gored the man to death.

9. THE STORY OF BLUE-JAY.<sup>1</sup>

There was a large camp of Indians. These Indians would go out on hunting expeditions and come back with an abundance of meat. One evening after the chase the hunters were telling their experiences. Blue Jay said, "I wounded a buffalo but it went into the heavy timber; in the morning I am going to look for it." (When he entered the timber) he saw a large tent and out of it appeared a pretty maid. She said, "You and I are to live in this tipi; I have been waiting for you." He married her and lived in this tipi and there was born to them a boy.

After the boy was grown quite tall and was able to talk he said, "We are going home and I want you to follow me, father, and keep close watch of my left tracks." As the father watched, the tracks became those of a buffalo calf. When he got thirsty the left track held a little water in the bottom. The tracks showed that they were on a run.

Blue Jay followed the tracks until he came to a big hill and beyond this hill lay a great camp of Indians and out of the camp came a boy running. He said, "Father, we are to have a big dance tonight and my grandmother intends to kill you. There are four of us boys who all look alike and (you must pick me out from among them). Now you must make no mistake. I will help you; when we dance in a circle, watch and you will see one of my ears moving." At the dance a woman came up to him and said, "Now you pick out your boy; if you make a mistake we are going to

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Joseph Eagle-Hawk, Oglala, June, 1926. Walker has a very fine version of the popular story of the buffalo wife from the same Left Heron who told some of the best stories in this collection. Elsewhere (page 91) he says that Buffalo people are supposed to dwell in the regions under the world and are people of the sun. Only a shaman can free a human being from their control if he has married a wife of their people. For versions of this wide-spread story see Arapaho, 388—418; Arikara, 94—101; Assiniboine, 195—198; Blackfoot, 117—120; Caddo, 73—76; Cheyenne, JAFI, 13: 186—187; Dakota, McLaughlin, 170—178; Dakota (Oglala), 183—190; Crow, Lowie, 107—119; Simms, 289—290; Omaha, J. O. Dorsey, 138—140, 157—162; Pawnee, Dorsey, 62—68, 104—105; Skidi-Pawnee (a very fine version) 284—293; Wichita, 199—206. The rationalistic setting is the introduction among the Indians of corn raising and buffalo hunting. Compare Cheyenne, Grinnell, JAFI, 20: 179—194, and the story of Iron Hawk, No. 4, in this collection. In the Pawnee origin story called "Four-Gods-in-the-West" (Dorsey, 19—21), the men are playing with gambling sticks when a buffalo woman leads one of the men away to her lodge and gives him seeds and buffalo meat and teaches him ceremonial usage. A little blue bird touches him on the back of the neck and he "seemed to wake up." When he goes back to his people, the buffalo come. In the Pawnee tale "Small Ants Bundle and the Buffalo" (Dorsey, 21—28), Moon teaches the use of the ring-game to secure meat and of the baskets and plum-seed for the women, hence come meat and corn to feed the people.

kill you." It was a Buffalo dance, and the boy twisted his ears and let them flop as he danced and the father picked him out among the rest. "Heyo!" said the old woman.<sup>1</sup> The little boy came to him and said, "Father, Grandmother wants you to go cut some sticks to pin the tent with," (and he warned him of the dangers of the way.) Now Blue Jay was considered holy because he could change himself into a feather. The only place where he could get the sticks was through a canyon in a hill. When he entered it the canyon began to close, but he turned into a feather. When it opened he turned into a man and threw out the sticks, when it closed he turned into a feather until he had the proper supply of pins; then he brought them back. ("Heyo!" said the old woman.) The boy said to his father, "Grandmother says you are to go to that tall tree over there and bring her the nest with the eggs in it which is at the top of the tree. If you fail she will have you killed." So Blue Jay turned himself into a feather, rose to the top, got the eggs and brought them home. "Heyo!" said the old woman.<sup>2</sup> The little boy came to his father and said, "They are going to dance the Buffalo dance four days without sleep. If you fall asleep you will be killed." The dance began and continued for three days, the fetlocks of the dancers rattling in time to the dance. Old Ikto was there and he helped Blue Jay to keep awake. The Buffalo sang

*Zitka' t'o ite' qya i isti'ma na.*  
Bird blue face grow on go to sleep.

(On the fourth day) old Ikto forgot his charge and went away for a little while and Blue Jay went to sleep. So the Buffalo cows stamped him to death until there was nothing left of him but one little blue feather. The boy picked it up and cried over it and took it into a sweat-lodge, made medicine over it and Blue Jay came to life.

There was a great gathering going on and they were playing a game called "Push-the-hoop" and the little boy came to his father and said, "Father, they are going to try to kill you today." The grandmother turned into a crazy buffalo and started to chase and horn him, but he had a red feather tied to his hair that floated up in the air and every time the buffalo made a dive at him he rose in the air and the buffalo passed under him. He took his bow and arrow and shot at her. He was very angry and he killed nearly all of the buffalo cows and the others fled. Then he seized his boy and brought him home.

That is my grandmother's story and I don't know any more.

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<sup>1</sup> *Heyo!* is a woman's expression indicating baffled surprise. An Omaha version uses *Hon!*

<sup>2</sup> These episodes correspond with the first two tests for arrow-making in No. 8.



10. THE MAN WHO WENT AFTER THE BUFFALO HORN.<sup>1</sup>

There was a large camp of Indians (as in most of our stories). A prominent young man lived out in the center of the circle and also a prominent young woman.<sup>2</sup> The young man wanted to marry the young woman and she said, "I will marry you if you will get the *ptehiniyapa* and bring it here." The young man had never heard of such a thing. He said to his father, "Father, you know everything. Tell me what is a *ptehiniyapa*." His father admitted that he did not know, but he told the young man, "You can look up Ikto; he can tell you." When Iktomi was brought he said, "Yes, I know everything but this I do not know. But I will tell you how to find out. Make a great feast and invite all the people and ask everyone what a *ptehiniyapa* is." The young man's father made a great feast and called all together, young and old. Now there came to the feast an old, old woman borne on a travoise. She said, "Yes, yes! I know about that. It comes from where the sun goes down and is very far away. Many a young man has gone after that and never returned."

A friend of the young man offered to accompany him on the journey and a younger brother said he would go also. They made many moccasins for the journey. Hake'la (youngest brother<sup>3</sup>) got together a short spear (*wahu'k'ezā*), some yellow paint (*mak'a'gi*), plume (*mak'a'gi wa'c'ihe*), red paint (*wase'*) and blue earth (*mak'a't'o*), eagle's down (*wacih?*), two large feathers from the twelve in the wing of an eagle and the two middle tail feathers (*yipi'yaslate*), a knife (*mi'la*), a sinew (*t'akq'*), a black scarf, and the skin of a beaver's tail (*c'a'pa site' ha*). His brother reproved him for taking so large a bundle but Hake'la said they would have need of all the articles.

They started, following the sun, and kept on west to a very high mountain. The other two wanted to turn back but Hake'la said they had

<sup>1</sup> Told by Eagle Hawk, at Oglala, June 22, 1926. He had it from his father, who heard it from his grandmother. See Oglala, Wissler, JAFI, 20: 128—131. One version of the quest demands "Red-head's hair:" Crow, Lowie, 141—143; Wichita, 242, 243; Blackfoot, 129—132; and No. 4 in this collection. The story is connected with the teaching of the art of scalping on the warpath. In the Blackfoot story of Scar Face, the origin of scalping is explained by an episode in which, after the party kill their first enemy, Moon says she will not believe it unless they bring back the scalp.

For the Dakota scalp dance see Riggs, 226; Walker, 119. For Omaha customs see Third Annual Report, pages 330—331.

<sup>2</sup> Only prominent persons are allowed to camp within the circle.

<sup>3</sup> Fielder says that the Indians notice how the youngest member of a family is more or less neglected. "Nothing much is expected of him. When a father and mother wish to honor a son it is always the first-born. Yet sometimes he does great deeds. Often he goes to live with his grandmother in a tipi, the two by themselves. She constantly tells him stories of the glories and dangers there are for young men in the world and he thus becomes the most thoughtful of all the family."

started out for the *ptehiniyapa* and that was what they were after! He took out his sinew, laid it on the ground and told all to stand on one end; then he put a live coal at the other end and the sinew contracted, bringing the distant mountain near to them, and then stretched out again.<sup>1</sup> He repeated this at each mountain they came in sight of. Looking down into a valley they saw a tent with smoke coming out. They approached the tent and a voice from inside said, "Yes, come in." Inside sat two very old women, one on each side. To each of the old women Hake'la made a present of one of the two eagle feathers and told them to use them for buttons (*c'eskipasise*). One woman said, "No one has ever made us such nice presents before. You are going after something and you will get it. We are the first guards. When you leave here you will find your grandfather lying in the path. Do not be afraid of him."

Sure enough they came upon their old grandfather in the shape of a big male bear<sup>2</sup> with dangerous claws lying on his stomach. Hake'la said to his older brother, "The old woman told you to jump on top of him and hold him down." — "Oh, no! not me!" — "Well then, I will." When Hake'la jumped on him the bear growled, but Hake'la took out the down and put it on him and painted him with the yellow paint and gave him the knife. (The bear was pleased).<sup>3</sup> "I am one of the guards to whatever you are going after," said the bear. "If I look away when you return do not be afraid but run by me on the left side. I am allowing you to pass because you decorated me with feathers, you painted me, you gave me a sharp knife. You will run across your (other) grandfather as you go."

Truly there lay Crazy Buffalo (*T'atqk'g.naski'yq*) in the road. Hake'la said, "Brother, can't you do something?" but the older brother left everything to Hake'la. The younger brother took the blue paint in the palms of his hands and he took the beaver's tail and he bent the two feathers from the eagle's wing into the form of horns. He ran upon his grandfather's back and stuck the two feathers in his head for horns and stuck the beaver's tail over the buffalo's nose and rubbed the blue paint over his body. Buffalo ceased struggling. He said, "Grandson, my horns were nearly worn out and you gave me a new pair. You gave me, too, a new nose and you have decorated me. To reward you I will let you pass on your return. If I should be fierce and tear up the earth do not be afraid but pass me on the left side. Go on your road and you will find your grandfather lying on the road."

As they went on, there lay a Crane (*p'ehq'*) in the road. "It's about time you did something," said Hake'la. — "You go ahead, you are doing

<sup>1</sup> Compare Paul Bunyan's "Buck-skin harness" in *Paul Bunyan* by Esther Shephard, Seattle 1924, pages 96—99.

<sup>2</sup> The term for this animal, *sake'hutela*, is applied today to a person in a rage.

<sup>3</sup> One person always decorates another as a courtesy, a man never does it for himself.

well!" said the older brother. Hakéla rubbed up the blue paint and jumped on the Crane and painted him and stuck the spear on his nose. The Crane thanked his grandchild and told him on his return not to be afraid but to pass him on the left side.

They next found a bird called *ptehi'cicila* on the road. Hakela rubbed red paint on his fingers and painted each side of the bird's eyes and he tied the black handkerchief about the bird's neck and over his head and put feathers of down on his tail. The bird thanked them and told them not to fear on their return but to pass by on the left side. He pointed to a little tent down in a valley. "That is where you are going. Beyond that tipi the clouds touch the earth and there are bolts of lightning continually passing in those clouds. Those are Waki'ya who protect what you are after. Be constantly on your guard because it is dangerous."

The party now approached the little tent. A woman came out of it and set her dog upon them, but Hake'la told his companions to lie down and he fell on top of them and they became a log.<sup>1</sup> The dog jumped over the log and ran on. A very fine-looking young woman came out of the tent dressed all in bright red with very long hair. She carried in one hand a small stone mallet, bright red, and in the other a bright red buffalo horn (*ptehiniyapa*)<sup>2</sup>. As she approached the log she said, "This was never here before. I seem to scent Hake'la," and she snuffed the air and looked down at the log. Now the horn was very strong; it was used to knock down trees or even to break rocks. Hake'la and the other two jumped up. At Hake'la's direction one seized the horn, the other the mallet, and Hake'la knocked the woman down and scalped her. She had long red hair — that was his trophy. He dropped down three light feathers and each jumped on a feather and, turning into one, floated off in the air. The thunder-bolts struck at them and the lightning went through them but they suffered no harm.

(A voice from the thunder reproached the bird for not keeping better guard.) When they reached the bird they were again human beings. "Tchi hu, tchi hu" the bird sounded the alarm,<sup>3</sup> but when it struck it

<sup>1</sup> This log transformation is a familiar episode e. g. in the Ojibwa story of Nanabushu's recovery of his lost brother from the home of the water-monster.

<sup>2</sup> The buffalo horn broken off fresh was in early days used as a wedge and driven in by a mallet of stone. Symbolically it represents the scalp knife.

The Osage rite of vigil, Thirty-ninth Annual Report, page 64, runs: —

What shall we make to be a symbol of our knife? . . .

There is the young buffalo bull,

It is his right horn,

That shall be a symbol of our knife.

When we make the right horn of the young bull to be a  
symbol of our knife

And go against our enemies who dwell toward the setting sun,

Our knife will always be sharp as we tread the path of life.

<sup>3</sup> It is a custom among the Sioux to cry an alarm before striking.



thrust its beak into the ground and it stuck there, as had previously been arranged. The Lightning people were still pursuing when they came to the Crane. — "He-e-e-e, there they go!" But the Crane also failed to stop them. The voice out of the thunder cried "There they go! there they go! they have killed a woman, — taken the *ptehiniyapa*!"<sup>1</sup> — "Hu! hu!" said the Crazy Buffalo. He knocked up all sorts of black objects and pretended anger, but they got past him. — "There they go! They have the *ptehiniyapa*! Stop them!" cried the Thunder. — "Ow! ow!" growled the Bear, but he failed to stop them. The men escaped the fierce bolts of Thunder and Lightning. They ran into the tent where the two old women lived and cried, "Grandmothers, protect us! they are very close upon us!" The Thunder circled about the tent and a voice said, "You bad old women! we told you to watch this place. They are escaping with the *ptehiniyapa*. Send them out that we may reach them!" The women turned in their seats and each got out of her *wokp'q* a blanket decorated with human hair. These they put over their shoulders and pinned them with the eagle feathers given them by Hakela and combed their hair up toward the front and tied it in a knot.<sup>2</sup> The two old women left the tent and flew close to the ground in the direction of the Lightning People (*Wakî'yq*). There was a great roar among the Lightning People and they flew toward the west as fast as they could go. The women returned to the tent. — "T'akoza, you may all go now. They will not return." One took some red grass (the kind the horses will not eat, — that grows on the ridge), rolled it up into a ball and gave a ball to each of the three. She taught them a song to sing, turning to the west. Then they were to toss the ball and it would roll about in a circle making a black ring where it rolled.<sup>3</sup> If they stepped inside the ring they would find themselves at the next ridge. This is the song:

*Pte he iyapa hiyobla*  
Buffalo horn (to) strike with went after

*C'a a-wag.liyelo*  
There I brought it did

*A! a! o-he-ye!*

One old woman said, "I am the light of the night; I am the moon," and the other said, "I am the light of the day; I am the sun. This is the same circle that you see around the sun in the sky. The people at your

<sup>1</sup> Not recognized. E. C. D.

<sup>2</sup> Warriors prepare themselves in the same fashion for war.

<sup>3</sup> "Sometimes a party coming back on the war-path take this same red grass rolled into a ball and burn it to blacken their faces as is the custom of a returning war party (see Mandan, 388; Omaha, Third Annual Report, 328). Warriors sing this song today when they bring back the dead and wounded from the war-path."

home will see the ring and say, 'They are returning.'"<sup>1</sup> At the first ridge the first young man turned (to the west) and sang and tossed his ball. At the next ridge the second said, "*Uci* (grandmother), you told us to do this!" and he sang the song and tossed the ball and they all got inside the ring. At the last ridge the third did the same. So they came back to their own people — a great camp.

They got into line, Hake'la with the scalp on the end of a pole, the friend with the mallet and the older brother with the buffalo horn, and they started toward the camp singing the same song. Their father was so glad that he gave a great feast and dance. After this it was suggested that they have a game of Crooked Stick (*c'a-ktq*), the Indian shinny, and all the girls came out to play dressed in bright colors. In the center was the much-sought-after maid dressed in scarlet. One took the bright red ball and made three motions and threw it in the air. Who should be the first to strike it but the girl, and she started west toward one of the goals. No one could catch her. She passed the goal, ran on to a hill, then returned holding up the ball to show that she had won the goal. The three young men sang their song. In the next throw another young woman got the ball and started west with it, but she did not get very far; the other girl got the ball and started east. The three young men sang their song again. The girl kept on going without stopping and she began to cry. "She is gone! she is gone!" (*Iya'yelo! iya'ye lo!*) cried the people. The girl turned into a wood-deer and started into the timber. This is why old-time stories speak of wood-deer, — she was the first of them. And by the way, the old women, the Moon and the Sun, had said, "They have sent you on a dangerous journey. You will get what you are going after but you will not marry the girl."<sup>2</sup> The Indians believe this story; they will not eat wood-deer.

<sup>1</sup> The two names used, *Hq-yé-wi*, Night-light, and *A-pé-wi*, Day-light, are common to religious ceremonies when the moon or the sun is mentioned. The name for women — *wi'yq* — Fielder thinks to be associated with these names, hence to the old women in the story. The ordinary terms would be *A'pa-wi*, Day-light, and *Hq-hépi-wi*, Night-light. Dorsey gives *Anpetuwi*, Eleventh Annual Report, 449. For Wahpeton forms see JAFI, 36: 46.

When they see a ring about the sun, the Sioux people say "We are going to have a sun-dance." For the symbolic relation of the sundance to a war-party's return see No. 3 note 2.

<sup>2</sup> In a Biloxi story, page 84, the deer woman takes her suitor to the deer-chief, who gives him a deer-skin and warns him that when they emerge from underground the woman will give a leap and he must leap quick enough to catch her. He is too slow and another person takes her. In Lowie's Crow version of Red-head, the white-tailed deer is one of the animal helpers who gives the man its form to help him on his quest. See also Walker, 204.

For the shinny-game as a means of escape from a pursuing husband see Arapaho, 159, 160; Assiniboine, 176, 178, 180 note 1. In a Skidi-Pawnee culture story, page 25, the transformer tosses balls in traveling east where

II. HOW PLENTY HORSES WENT TO BE THUNDER'S SON-IN-LAW.<sup>1</sup>

There lived an old man who had a great many horses and he had an only son. He said, "Son, I am getting old. You may have all these horses. Take good care of them." So every morning the young man would go out and round up the horses. The next spring he was much pleased with the new colts that were born. Among them was one very poor and ugly. He brought it home and picked out a good mother for it, but it did not seem to improve. The young man thought, "If I should kill off all the other colts this one would thrive." (He did so), but still the colt did not improve. Then the boy said, "Now you have made me kill all the other colts I shall punish you; I shall get on you and ride you as hard as you can go." He started the colt west as hard as he could go; but when he was tired and wanted to stop he could not make the colt stop and he began to cry. The colt said, "Do not worry! I am guiding you to great things."

They came finally to a great camp where there was much talk and commotion going on. The young maid who lived in the center of the circle had hung up her ring and all the young men were to shoot at the ring and the one who shot his arrow through it, he was to marry her. The next morning the crier said, "All young men come out to the center, to the center!" Two poles were set up, forked at the top with a third laid across, and in the center hung the ring. It was made of bone of a rare quality. The young men were to ride through very swiftly and spear the ring. Instead of arrows they used sharpened sticks.

After each young man had tried to spear the ring and failed the crier announced, "All stand back, Plenty Horses is going to try next!" Plenty Horse went back some distance and, starting his horse, he came very swiftly to the poles, speared the ring and bore it away on his spear. The men cheered, at the same time striking their mouths with their hands, and the women cried "Il lil lil le!" Plenty Horses was bidden to bring the ring to the maid who lived out in the center of the circle.

During the night the maid disappeared. They told Plenty Horses that some one had taken her away. The young man circled the entire camp and found where the grass lay trampled to the east. He mounted his poor-looking horse and followed the trail and went on until he came

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the people are. Compare Wichita, 27—28, where the game of shinny is taught and the method of traveling with arrow and balls.

In Wissler's version the friendly old women instruct the boys how to get rid of the woman who has sent them on this dangerous quest, and it is likely that the story originally belongs to the dangerous quest group and demands vengeance upon the sender.

<sup>1</sup> Told by Joseph Eagle Hawk of the Oglala Indian reservation, June, 1926. Oglala Teton, Walker, *Story of the Wizard and his Wife*, 203—210, told by Left-Heron; Pawnee, 68—71; Skidi Pawnee, 157—167; and compare No's. 4 and 5 in this collection.



to a great body of water. — "Why are you crying, Plenty Horses?" asked the horse. The horse told Plenty Horses to shut his eyes and whip him up well. When the boy opened his eyes he was on an island. There was a tipi on the island and Plenty Horses told the old woman inside why he was there. She said, "Stay right here. Your uncles are out hunting. When they get back they will tell you in which direction the maid has been carried away." Over in the west a big black cloud appeared and it began to lighten and thunder. The old woman said, "That is your uncle Owner-of-the-Water (M.ni-Yuha'la), one of the Waki'ya who carries water." When he arrived he seemed so fierce that Plenty Horses began to cry. The old woman rebuked Owner-of-the-Water. "Do not come so fiercely! You have frightened your nephew. Your nephew speared the ring of the maid who lived in the center of the circle and he wants to know if you have seen her." — "No, I have been busy watering land in the west; I have not seen her." The old woman said, "Wait a little! Your uncle, Owner-of-the-fine-hail (Wareca-yuhagula) will come soon." Then a storm appeared in the north and approached fiercely with strong wind and fine hail, and Plenty Horses began to cry. The old lady rebuked Fine Hail. "Do not make such a commotion! You are frightening your nephew," and she told him why Plenty Horses had come. Fine Hail said he had been busy looking after his land up north and had not seen her. Wasu'-yuha'-la came from the south. He had an enormous crooked nose, and he too had been busy and had not seen where they carried the maid. While they were talking there appeared a terrific storm in the east that tore up the trees and frightened the horses. Owner-of-the-wind, T'ate'-yuha-la, entered with an enormous nose and left-handed, unlike the rest. When the old lady asked Owner-of-the-wind if he had seen the maid he said "Yes, she will be married in the morning. She has returned to the country of the Waki'nya."

Plenty Horses looked and saw water all about him. The old woman promised that his uncles should take him over in the morning. She opened out a large rawhide and told Plenty Horses to sit down in the center, then each of the uncles got hold of a corner. The uncle from the west said, "Keep your eyes shut, be brave. Whenever I appear people get scared." As they rose in the air the rawhide cracked with a loud noise (this was the thunder), and when they landed a large black cloud disappeared overhead and left him on the ground.

Here there was a great gathering of people and Plenty Horses found that the maid who lived out in the center was about to be married. She stood upon one log and the man she was to marry stood upon another at some distance. When the people looked around and cried "There comes Plenty Horses!" the maid who lived in the center jumped down from the log and disappeared with Plenty Horses.

To this day you hear the expression "I am to be a son-in-law of the Waki'ya" used when a young man is to marry away from his own

people, and this saying refers to this story.<sup>1</sup> Also the saying "He pulled you off a tree, didn't he!" which means that one who is about to succeed fails. The Waki'ya are the winds which control the thunder-storms.<sup>2</sup> The old lady on the island was their mother. The north-western Waki'ya is considered the most dangerous because most storms come from that direction, but the fiercest Waki'ya is from the east: "C'atka' ukiyelo (left-handed) they return," people say. This is because the Indian gets his directions facing the south, hence the left hand is toward the east. Old Indians fill up a pipe, take a few puffs, and point the pipe stem to the thunder, raising the pipe and making a motion in the direction of the thunder to "cut" it, then to the right and the left to turn it aside. The bowl is held in the right hand turned toward the back of the hand with the thumb up, the stem high up with the left hand.

## 12. THE GIRLS WHO MARRIED STARS.<sup>3</sup>

There was a band of Indians encamped at a certain place. Two very pretty maidens were sitting out in the cool evening to pass the time away.

<sup>1</sup> *Waki'yata wic'a'woha m.ni kte lo*

To thunderland as a son-in-law I will go.

*C'a et'a' niyu'hpa pe lo*

Log from you (all) were pulled down.

In the Osage story of Splinter Foot Girl, G. Dorsey b, 50, the miraculous girl is warned not to look at anyone who comes to the house, for a monster is coming to carry her off and will have no power if she does not look at it. She breaks the taboo and is carried away by the monster Elk. When she is rescued her uncles say "'Let us have our neice jump this log.' The girl jumped the log and her hair grew back and her clothes were replaced." In the Arapaho parallel, 167—172, the girl is forbidden to go out to play shinny for fear of being carried away. In two Arapaho versions the same "Splinter-foot-girl" wearied by her adventures on earth, goes up to heaven with her father by tossing a ball up and following it skyward: Arapaho, 159, 161, and compare note 13 to No. 10 in this collection.

<sup>2</sup> The four winds or Waki'ya are the children of T'ate', who abides at the entrance of the spirit trail and hides it from mankind. The four are addressed as one god and "have precedence over all gods except Wohpe, the feminine." In invoking them, the pipe is held elevated with the mouth-piece toward the west where lies the lodge of the Waki'ya, and carried about clockwise until it rests at the north. East wind has a crow messenger, hence perhaps his "big nose." The four winds act as messengers to the gods. See Walker, 84—85.

The names of the four seem to vary among the Oglala. Those given by Wallis, JAFL 36:46, and by Walker, 84, do not correspond with these given by Eagle Hawk.

<sup>3</sup> Told by Mrs. Susie Hollowhorn, Manderson, June 27, 1926. For discussion see Reichard, Gladys A., JAFL 34: 269—272, 290—309. The episode of a woman (or two women) married in Star country is common over the

Looking up toward the sky they saw the stars shining and one of them said, "How pretty the stars are this evening! I wish that big one were a human being and I would marry him!" The other said, "I wish that little star were human and I would marry him." After a few moments two men appeared, one a good deal older than the other, who was young and small. They said, "Rise, young maidens, and we will go home. You have just promised to marry us." The girls assented and went with the two men, intending to accompany them home. Soon they noticed that they were leaving the earth and were on their way to the stars.

When they reached Star-land they found it a beautiful place. The people were good to them. Each maiden went to the home of the parents of her new husband. But after some time the maiden of the older man looked down on the ground and saw wild turnips growing thick. She was fond of them and one day mentioned to her husband that she would dig some to eat. Now the two girls, although not related by blood, had made friends in Star-land, so the girl went to her friend to accompany her. The husbands warned them that some of the turnips were female and some male and they must not dig any of the male turnips. The maidens (promised to) observe this caution, but on their way they came to some plants and the older girl said, "I wonder why

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whole Plains area. Compare Assiniboine 171; Blackfoot, 58—61; Caddo, 27, 29; Cheyenne, JAFI, 34: 308—315; Dakota, Riggs, 90—94; Pawnee, Dorsey, 56—58; Grinnell, JAFI, 7: 197—200 Skidi-Pawnee, 60—65; Wichita, 298. In Mandan, 361, it is the grandson of "the old woman who lives in the moon" who digs up the plant and descends through the opening to earth. In the Dakota version the hero from the sky protects his guardian from "Waziya" who takes away all the game, and in the Cheyenne he protects from "White Crow" who scatters the buffalo, "Winter man" who deprives the people of food, and other enemies. The Bloodclot Boy plot is a popular variant of the same episode. See Dakota, Riggs, 101—104, McLaughlin, 80—85; (Wahpeton) Dakota, JAFI, 36: 75—77; Arapaho, 298—301, 311—317; Blackfoot, 53—55; Gros Ventre, 82—90; Omaha, J. O. Dorsey, 48—50; Skidi Pawnee, 80—84. In Riggs and Wallis, Bear has made Badger his slave; in McLaughlin and Omaha, J. O. Dorsey, Rabbit is the guardian whom Bear abuses. In the Skidi Pawnee the guardians are "old people" and Bear is the abuser. The abuser is called "son-in-law" in the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and one of the Arapaho stories. In the Skidi-Pawnee version of the sky-born hero, the child kills the dangerous guardian spirits of the old woman who adopts him; the story takes a similar turn in versions of "Old Woman's grandson." In this form the story is told of the son (or sons) of the woman who follows a porcupine up a tree into the sky and there marries a sky-husband. See Arapaho, 332-338; Gros Ventre, 90—92; etc. Compare the final incident of No. 4 in this collection where Red Calf returns to his grandparent, the Meadowlark, and frees him from the abuses of the Rock People. For the episode in which Iktomi dooms the star-boy to death see No. 4, and No. 5.



they told us not to dig a male turnip. I believe I will dig one just to see if they will know!" She dug and dug right through the sky and fell through to the earth. She was at that time pregnant and she fell through to her own people like a shooting star back to the earth.

Now when this maiden caved in from Star-land to earth she gave birth to a child. Various animals like bears and badgers came there to see (what had fallen) and found a live child with the dead mother. The animals assembled discussed which one should take and rear the child. The bear chose the badger, the badger the birds, and so on. Finally all agreed that the badger should rear the child because she was adept at digging into the earth. So she took the child to her den. It was not large enough, so she made it wide and deep and gathered straw and grass and soft weeds to make the child a bed, and laid it there. She paid strict attention to the child, turning it first on one side and then on the other. While she nursed her little ones the badger nursed the child with the others.

After the child had reached a certain age, the badger had to go out and hunt for the child with bow and arrows. Often when she returned the bear would take away the game by force. Time and again the bear had done this. In the meantime the child grew up to be a strong boy. The badger explained to the boy the story of his birth and the difficulty she had had in rearing him. She said, "The kinship that I claim for you is that of grandson because I reared you. And because of the way you were born I will name you Shooting Star!" As the badger spoke, the bear called her to come out to kill game, for the buffalo were near; then the bear claimed all the game. The next time the bear did this Shooting Star said, "Grandmother, let me brave the bear," and he went out to face the bear and defied him. The bear started to run, but Shooting Star shot an arrow through the bear's kidney and killed him. He said, "Grandmother, go over to Bear's den and take all the meat he has taken away from you."

Badger said, "Grandson, I am going to wish for a fortune for you. I am going to wish for you to own some buckskin leggings and some moccasins trimmed with porcupine quills," and every time that she wished fortune for him, it came.

Shooting Star asked his grandmother, "Are we the only ones in existence on this earth?" The grandmother said, "There are some other nations like the bear, the beaver and the birds." Shooting Star grew more inquisitive and asked, "Are there others besides those you have mentioned?" The grandmother said, "Yes, yonder toward the sun-setting where you see those high mountains there is another nation of men living." Shooting Star said, "I am going over there to see them." The grandmother said, "Be very careful on the way and do not let anyone deceive you." His grandmother gave him a bow and arrows and he set out toward the sun-setting.

On the way he saw men and women peeping out all around him and saying, "Here comes a woman imitating a boy!" but when he threatened them with his bow and arrows they went away. When he had come near to the band and had reached a high point overlooking the village, night overtook him. Looking toward the village he noticed four white tipi and a summoner was announcing, "Ho-o-o-o-! Shooting Star is coming." The four tipi were for the first-born maidens of four prominent families. All these maidens now said at the same time, "Father, when Shooting Star comes I want to marry him." As Shooting Star, having descended from the hill, was approaching the village the announcer cried again "Here comes Shooting Star!" One of the girls invited him to her tipi and the family insisted that he should marry her, but he was determined to see them all first and make his selection. When he finally chose one all the others began to weep.

Iktomi learned why they were weeping and said, "Let us arrange now to kill Shooting Star." He put up two poles near together and captured Shooting Star and tied a hand and foot to each pole. He advised everyone to have a sharp knife ready to cut Shooting Star in pieces. His wife warned him what the people were going to do and he told his wife to tell her father and mother to move camp to a high peak away from the band. When he was fast bound he said, "My kinsmen, before you kill a human being is it not right that he should say his last words?" — "Let him say what he has to say!" sneered Iktomi. So he called out, "My father, remember that I am here helpless. Come from the four winds with your invasion to save me!" They heard a loud roar from the winds. — "Hurry up! hurry up! cut him up!" said Iktomi, but the knives would not cut into his body. At this moment came a strong wind with thunder, so strong that it blew away the people and Iktomi, and the thunder loosened the bonds that bound Shooting Star. So he returned to his father-in-law and they came back to the village and he lived there with them.

### 13. THE NATION OF THE BIRDS.<sup>1</sup>

Once there was a tribe of Dakotas encamped. It was a wealthy tribe and controlled its own affairs. Iktomi used to come to the camp and give them advice in order to gain influence among them. There was a wealthy family in the village who had a boy and a girl. The girl was very pretty and Iktomi wanted to secure the girl. So he plotted with a cousin who wanted the brother's property to get the brother away in order to secure

<sup>1</sup> Told by Mrs. Susie Hollowhorn, June, 1926. The desertion of a young man on an island; his escape by means of a water-monster as ferryman whom he betrays to the enemy, the thunder-bird; his securing of magic power; and his return to avenge his family who have been abused in the meantime by his betrayer, is recorded for the Dakota by Riggs, 139—143; Wallis, JAFL 36: 78—83; Wissler, JAFL 20: 196—199. Compare Arapaho, 23—31; Assiniboine, 150—154 (with a different escape episode); Biloxi, 90—107; Caddo, 26—27.

the girl.<sup>1</sup> His plan was to take the brother to an island after eagle feathers and abandon him there. The young man's cousin agreed and one day they all went to sea. Iktomi had dried a buffalo hide and made it into a boat. The three rowed over to the island. They found real eagle feathers and began picking them up. "Over yonder there are better feathers," he told the young man. Then the two ran away to the boat and left the young man. He called out, "Cousin, you have done me a deceitful trick!" They got back to shore, cast away the boat and went back to the tipi, where Iktomi forced the young girl to marry him and the cousin took all her brother's pinto (spotted) ponies.

For six days the brother wandered on the island weeping and calling for help to the great spirit that he might not starve and perish. His prayer was heard. As he sat by the shore weeping there came a monster with horns out of the sea and asked him why he was weeping. He told his story and the monster said that he knew all about it and would take him back to the other shore if he would hold him by the horns and gaze at the sky without looking into the sea and if he saw any clouds coming say "Grandfather, there is a cloud coming!" Before they reached the shore the young man said, "Grandfather, there is a cloud coming!" He was unconscious for a time and when he came to himself he was on the other shore.<sup>2</sup>

He started for his camp to find his sister and found that Iktomi had married his sister and was abusing her, picking up coals of fire and sticking them in her face and beating her. So he called, "Sister, I have

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Hollowhorn called the boy T'ahā'si. The names of the cousin and the sister were Tib.lo and Koiš Kala.

<sup>2</sup> The Ukte'h of the eastern Dakota are the Ukcé'gila of the Tetons. The petrified forms of monsters in the rock have given objective proof to the tradition that these horned monsters have made earth and man. They are supposed to have the form of an ox and to have power to extend their horns and tails to the skies. They are the divinities of the medicine dance; "Serpents, lizards, frogs, ghosts, owls and eagles" are their subordinates. The Omaha and Ponka picture the "Wakandagi" as monsters with horns on their heads who lie under the bluff in the Missouri river. The Winnebago say that the Underwater Beings are enemies of the Thunder Beings. Gods of the air fight the gods of under water; when the Water Beings come out of the water the Thunder Beings "steal upon them and kill them." Bear, beaver, butterfly and deer are subordinate to the Thunder Being. See Siouan Cults, J. O. Dorsey, Eleventh Annual Report, 386, 425, 438—441, 537, 538; Radin, Thirty-seventh Annual Report, 287; and Dakota (Oglala) Walker, 89. For the strife between Thunder Beings and Water Spirits see Assiniboine, 169 and note 2; Arikara, 73—78; Skidi Pawnee, 167; Wichita, 102—106; Winnebago, Radin, JAFI, 39: 43—45. For the warning compare Eleventh Annual Report, 472, and Gros Ventre, 104; etc. No. 15 in this collection — "The Boy whom Thunder brought back home" — is a parallel episode to this of the desertion on the island and of the Thunder Bird episode in No. 7, No. 9 in this collection.



returned!" The sister said, "Brother, Spider forced me to marry him and all your possessions have been taken by our cousin." The brother said, "Put Spider out of the lodge." The sister commanded Spider to leave. He said, "Is my brother-in-law at home (that you dare to take the upper hand)?" She pulled out her knife and Ikto ran out of the lodge. The brother was waiting at the entrance with a big club and he killed Ikto instantly. Then he went over to his cousin's lodge and broke into the lodge and said, "Cousin, you and Iktomi played me a bad trick but I have come home!" and he killed him with the same club and took back all his possessions.

He trimmed up his lodge with the feathers he got from the island and made out of them the first (?).

#### 14. THE NATION OF THE HORSES.<sup>1</sup>

There was a band of Indians camped and among them lived a man and his family of four girls and one boy. The family was popular, especially the boy, of whom the family was very proud. They had a special tipi erected for him in the village in front of the others.

The young man complained and said, "Why is it that at night when I go to sleep warm water rains over my face?" His father said, "Sharpen a stick and make it pointed and if the rain comes again thrust the sharp stick into the air and find out who is doing this." That night he went to sleep and the warm rain came again. He thrust the stick into the air and heard a girl cry "Oh!" In the morning the stick was found to be streaked with blood. The boy was paralyzed and as if fastened to a tree that grew in the lodge. Although everyone tried with sticks and stones to free the boy from the tree they could not succeed and the tree grew higher and higher, carrying the boy with it. The camp moved; all left except a sister, who remained by the tree. There came a storm of thunder and a horseman came riding on a horse painted in different colors. He asked the girl why she remained behind and she told him of her brother's plight. "We know all about this," said the horseman, and he commanded the girl to go down into a valley where she found a shelter under some cliffs while he raced back toward the storm. The storm came; it thundered and the girl heard a crack from the lightning. After the storm cleared she found that the lightning had struck the tree so that it was all in splinters and her brother was standing on the ground but with changed features, and beside him lay his young sister dead. At this instant the horseman appeared again and said, "You must go back to the camp and observe the instructions that I am going to give you; all these instructions must be observed in the tribe." He took a drum, all black and gave it to the

<sup>1</sup> Told by Mrs. Susie Hollowhorn, June, 1926. In the Pawnee Medicine ceremony taught by Lightning, a girl is struck by lightning and a magic stone left in her place which teaches her father the medicine ceremony; see Pawnee, Dorsey, 261—279. Compare Sioux, McLaughlin, 113—117.

girl and bade her establish such dances as the Omaha dance, the women's circle dances, the white horseman dance, the buffalo dance, including the chief dance called the short-hair dance. — "We shall be up in the sky watching you to see if these dances are observed."<sup>1</sup>

Instructions were given to the young man and he instructed his sister to have such games as shooting arrows and rolling hoops introduced among the people. Then he turned to the dead girl and explained that this girl had been killed by the thunder because she had committed a shameful crime, that of going into her brother's lodge to relieve nature. As they watched him he flew from the ground on his horse's back into the clouds. They went back to the village and reported what had happened and gave the Thunder's instructions. Ten kinds of dances are derived from (the incidents related in) this story.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Walker says, 141—151, that the Buffalo dance among the Og.la'la is designed to ward off harm at the time of a girl's first catamenia. On page 218 he relates how a white buffalo came to a young man in dream and said, "I will teach you my ceremony and show you how to perform it. A girl is good. She has not yet formed her habits. When she first becomes a woman she is very mysterious and is susceptible to the influences of spirits. I will teach you how to drive the evil influences away and how to invoke the good influences so that she may become a good woman."

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Hollowhorn added the following in answer to questions:

Of the four sisters in the story two of them married and had families and out of them grew a great people. One was killed for her fault. The sister who was first taught the dances remained single all her life. She was holy — she knew things in dreams; "Comes-out-holy" is her name. The boy also was holy but he married a woman whom they found out afterward to be a buffalo-woman. His name is Plenty Horses. Thunder gave them a round drum and they danced. In olden time they danced only on nights when it was moonlight. With these dances the children grew up strong. Thunder told the girl to make shinny sticks painted yellow and to play the game with ten on each side. In old times they played shinny after the fourth day of a girl's (first?) menstrual period. The girl took the shinny ball and threw it in each of four directions and someone caught it each time. The four who caught the ball each had a present of a horse. The girl wore leggings marked with porcupine quills, moccasins, a robe, blanket, bags, and all these were given away. There were no particular patterns or colors used for these articles.

Charles Long Rock, Cheyenne, added:

If a man marries and has a first-born girl, when she becomes a woman he gets up a big feast. The first act is to throw up a ball in the air among the crowd four times and each time the person who catches it gets a horse. The fourth one who catches the ball keeps it. After that they have a feast and give-away. They do not dance any special dances or play shinny. It is only the wealthy who give such a festival. There is no special significance about it, — nothing sacred. The informant never caught the ball himself but knows one old woman who caught it and kept it.

15. THE BOY WHOM THUNDER BROUGHT BACK HOME.<sup>1</sup>

A woman gave birth to a little boy and soon after her husband deserted her and went away. Later the woman married another man. As he was taking her home he said to his wife, "Why do you take this boy along? Why not cast him away as his father abandoned you?" On their way they stopped at a certain place to rest and the boy fell asleep. When she began to lift him up her husband forbade her. He commanded her to saddle up her pony and they left the boy asleep, but the woman cried secretly.

On the way a heavy rain fell with hail and thunder and they took refuge under a cliff. After the storm they went on their way and met some one black who came up to them so that they recognized him. It was the boy. The Thunder had painted half of his body grey and half black and made zigzag marks of lightning on both arms from the shoulders down to the hands, with forks over the thumb and fingers, and on his legs from his thighs down to his (feet); his hair was drawn up to the top of his head. Then Thunder had brought him before his mother. When she saw him she dismounted and cried aloud. The boy said, "Do not cry! When you left me and I awoke, I wandered all over the plains and a thunder-storm overtook me and there appeared a man marked as you see me here. And he took me up on his horse and bore me away and brought me here and told me to tell you both that the next time you cast me away they would put you to death." He said moreover, "Thunder said, 'Remember, boy, when you and your father and mother return to the village, tell it out plainly how you were cast away and brought back by Thunder. Returned-by-Thunder (*Waki'yq-Ag.li'hpeyapi* — Thunder-bring-back-home) shall be your name hereafter.'" So they proceeded and the step-father wished to take the boy on his horse, but the mother forbade it. They came to a stream and he wished to wash the paint from the boy's body, but the boy refused. After two days they reached the village and the woman, refusing to be taken to her husband's relatives, went back to her own brothers and told them the story. They were angry and sought for the husband but could not find him.

Now the boy's marks were a mystery, for they had never been seen before, especially the mark on his hair which could not be cut off. The boy was six years old at this time. He had been told to make a performance at the age of eight. A fire was to be built and a dog slaughtered and cooked in a pot of boiling water, and the boy was to paint up as he was when Thunder took him and he was to come from a certain lodge and put his hands into the boiling pot and take out some of the meat. So when

<sup>1</sup> Told by Mrs. Susie Hollowhorn, Manderson, June, 1926. See, for Oglala, Wissler, JAFI, 20: 204—206 "The Medicine Bow;" Skidi Pawnee, "The Boy who talked with Lightning," 95—97; Crow, Lowie, 288—298, "Big Iron" and see No. 13.



the two years were passed, the boy performed the ceremony. If he put his hands up on his head with a certain weed — they call it "clown weed" — he would not feel the hot soup on his bare hands.

Now this is not a story but a real performance taught by Thunder,<sup>1</sup> and the Sioux people lately have really given such performances. The name is passed down and now belongs to a certain man at Rosebud called Returned-by-Thunder. The clowns have mysterious dreams advising them to do opposite things. They carry a long bow (made of any kind of wood) and a crooked arrow.

#### 15a. A VISION.<sup>2</sup>

Grandfather's grandfather saw Thunder. He went out to hunt in a great rain. After the rain, they rode to a high point on the mountain and there saw a great eagle grey like a pigeon with red stripes over the eye and along the wing. The head was drooped down and was big like a man's head; the bill and claws and wings were like an eagle. He sat about four feet high. They offered the eagle tobacco, hair and skin. That night there was constant thunder and lightning and in the morning (all was clear). One of the eagle's wings hung down as if broken. There was a big lake with lots of fish and a big turtle so big that six men could hold hands about its body. Big fish lay thrown out about the pond and smelled bad. A big black animal was dead there also. This (eagle) was Waki'ya.

#### 16. UKCÉGILA.<sup>3</sup>

Three girls were reprimanded by their families and ordered to leave camp. Night overtook them on the way north and they stopped at a good camp where there was timber and a green open place. In the morning

<sup>1</sup> The archaic name for lightning is "The-thunder-beings-open-their-eyes." The Omaha use the same word to denote death by lightning and death in battle. The thunder beings, called Waki'ya, live in the west and take on different forms. Walker says that the order of the clowns or *heyo'k'a* is made up of those who have seen one of the dangerous forms of the winged god. His human form is not dangerous (riding on a horse as in this story), but one who sees "his substance" is thereby made *heyo'k'a*. The *heyo'k'a* love Waziya, god of the north; both delight in doing things contrary to custom. The *heyo'k'a* (clown) society have their own dance and songs and are regarded as mysterious people. Sioux, Dorsey, 11th Annual Report, pages 442—443, 468—471; Omaha, 27th Annual Report, 402—403; Walker, 68, 83, 166.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Ben Kindle, Oglala, June, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> Told by Mrs. Susie Hollowhorn, June, 1926. In the Arapaho flood story a monster in the shape of "a large wart" similarly feeds people and then swallows them down: Arapaho, 8—10, 13—14. In "Mountain Lion and the Seven Sisters" Osage, 19—21, a similar adventure occurs. See also Cheyenne, JAF, 13: 186. This story was told in answer to a request for an "Ukce'gila story."

there lay a fresh-killed deer outside their camp. Two took out their flint knives and skinned the animal while the other made a fire, and they had a nice feast. Night overtook them. Next morning a buffalo lay outside, they skinned it, as they had the deer, and tanned the two skins and made a lodge right there out of the skins. Night came, and the next morning there lay a porcupine with a long body and very long quills.

The oldest girl suggested that they stay awake at night and find out who was doing all this. The first night she watched all night but at daybreak she lay down and slept and she saw nothing. In the morning they found another buffalo with the marks on its back where it had been wounded. When they had dried its meat they now had big bundles of meat. The next night the second girl watched. At daybreak she fell asleep and when she awoke they found another deer lying dead; so they dried the meat and prepared the skin for garments. Now the youngest sister watched and at daybreak she still sat watching. When the day broke she heard something coming and peeping out she saw a human being like a monster with fur all over his body and long ears. He came on tiptoe, peeped into the lodge and laid down his game. He had great big eyes that shone yellow. In one hand he carried a great lance.

When he had gone back into the timber, the youngest girl waked the other two girls and bade them hasten away, and she told them what she had seen. So they picked up what they could carry and crawled out at the back of the lodge and fled back to their people. They ran all the way, but looking back they saw the monster coming faster than they could run. The oldest carried (a pack of) the dried meat on her back and she threw the dried meat; the monster stopped and wandered about the package. Now the girls came to a great plain where there was no place to hide, and they began to cry. The monster was coming and the second girl dropped her package. This delayed the monster for a time while the girls ran on. When he followed again the third girl dropped her package.

Now when the girls left camp the people at home sent out scouts to trail them and one of these scouts met the girls as they were running. The oldest recognized her father and besought him to rescue them, and he stood ground while the girls went home and made their report. All the men mounted their ponies and came to the first scout, but by this time the monster had retreated backward into the timber. They took the girls on their ponies and pursued him to a timber, which they surrounded. The monster they found sitting against a tree and it was *Ukce'gila*.

#### 17. THE STORY OF SNAKE BUTTE.

There were four men going on a warpath and the fourth was a young man, the other three were old. At night they camped and had supper. The next morning they found themselves resting on a great hill and had breakfast up there. One stood up and looked all around and said there was a buffalo on the next ridge. The three older men laid down their

camping outfit, one shot the buffalo with an arrow, the other two butchered it and made the fire; only the youngest sat still by the camping outfit and refused to join them. He had seen the tail of the buffalo and he now warned them to look at the tail before they ate the meat.

The tail was that of a rattlesnake. The buffalo changed to a snake and the men changed into snakes and followed him.<sup>1</sup> Only the youngest sat watching because he had not eaten the meat. So he went back and told the Indians camping near. They came to where the snakes lived. Their wives and their children were in mourning; they could not talk to them. So they made a feast there and worshiped the young man.

This place is in North Dakota and is called Snake Butte.

#### 18. A GHOST STORY.<sup>2</sup>

This really happened many many years ago to an old man named Little Bear who died here recently, and the same thing had happened before in that same place. A party of nine were going to war against the Assiniboine. Of these nine only two are living today. The place is somewhere near Polar, Montana. Little Bear, who died only a few years ago, was one of the party. He was a young man then on his fourth war expedition.

The party arrived about sundown and camped at this place. One told what had happened twice before when they had stopped in the same place. After sundown they heard an owl hoot at a water-pool a little distance from where they stopped and after that they heard something flying through the air and it struck the temporary tipi. They went to see what it was and found a club-shaped stick. After they had come back into the tent there came a big gust of wind and something came into the tent. It was a ghost. In the party was a man named Mud-hen and he said, "We won't run away from the ghost. You stay by me and I will cut him up with my hatchet!" They stopped over night. The same thing happened again. When Little Bear looked at the ghost he saw there were places where the skin was still hanging to the face, the nose was a big hole, pieces of skin were hanging down from the ankles. All were frightened to death. The ghost took each man by the forehead and turned him over and spanked each man and then went out. After a while they came to their senses and they decided that the ghost was warning them against going on that expedition lest they all be killed.

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Edith Marsette at Kyle, July 2, 1926. Warriors are changed into snakes in an Omaha story, J. O. Dorsey, pages 322—323. In a Caddo story, Dorsey, 65, a boy turns into a snake. Compare Mandan, 380.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Charles Long Rock at Cheyenne River Agency, July, 1926.



19. A WITCH STORY.<sup>1</sup>

Years ago (when Long Rock was two years old) a man whose grandchildren are living yet on this reservation went out buffalo hunting and shot a buffalo. There were a good many people on the hunt. When they butchered the animal, they found it was an old woman with gray hair.

29a. WINWAYUNWACIPI.<sup>2</sup>

The first sun-dance she remembers was held in July some eighty years ago when she was seven years old. It was held down by a river thick with trees. At this time of the dance tipis are made out of fourteen hides sewed together. There were seven in the family and she had a tipi like that. Some tipis are colored black above and some black below. These are for the medicine men. There is a holy pole set up in the center for the dance. Early in the morning they paint the men. The men stand in a row facing the sun and they cut their chests and back and put wooden pegs through the skin with buffalo heads hanging to the pegs (which are tied with thongs to the pole) and they go back and forth dancing until the heads fall off. The men make (word lost) that come down below the waist out of elk's teeth, in four rows, and they wear abalone shells about as big as three fingers. They stand facing the four winds and hold out their hands and pray for long life. She has the marks on her arm where she was cut as they prayed. They face the sun, the north, the south, the west, touch the ground and face the sky.

When one has a dream, the dreamer makes a feast and dresses according to his dream.<sup>3</sup> The dream is a sign of success. This woman about fifty years ago dreamed that she was going along a path beside a high cliff. There was a tree on the edge of the cliff and she saw two women laughing and swinging. They were painted with stripes of red and yellow down the side of the face. When she awoke she told her father and he said they would make a feast because the daughter was now going to do porcupine work. At the feast she dressed like her dream. Another time an old medicine man gave her a lance and put it by her bed to dream. She dreamed that she was going along a path when she saw a buffalo lying down bleeding at the mouth. She was about to pass around when the buffalo spoke and told her if she passed around him something would befall her, so she came right home. When she told her dream the medicine man said she would come to old age, and he was right.

<sup>1</sup> Told by Long Rock.

<sup>2</sup> From notes by one of the wives of Chief American Horse at Kyle, July 2, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> "If the Indian dreams about a bear, deer, buffalo, lightning or any kind of animal, he must represent that animal by dressing up in hide, horns and paint and going about the village. If he fails to do this the lightning will strike him," says Garnett of Oglala. See note 3 in No. 3. Cf. Mandan, 369.

## 20. MRS. LIGHT'S STORY.

Mrs. Light was an inmate of the hospital at Fort Thompson and was so old that her memory was childish and vague. Her first husband's name was Hi and she married him when she was a young girl. She had no children by him and after he died she remained single ten years although they tried to buy her from her brother for a team of horses black and white, but she wouldn't marry. Her second husband had been her sister's husband and his name was Dirty. They had no children and she stayed with him (after her sister's death). He was sick, got nervous and died and they gave her his land. Both these husbands were good to her. They made her color her face to look nice.

The family in her own home consisted in three boys and two girls, five in the family. They were raised on meat — buffalo, skunk, porcupine. Buffalo meat was the best. As a girl she was skilful in doing porcupine work. She could also do bead work. She had made a cap for her nephew and for another child and a beaded Indian blanket. She made two great Indian blankets and two small ones for her neice. Her neice sold them for some donkeys. Everyone thought them pretty and asked who made them. She lived in a tent made of ten buffalo skins colored red on top. Once she dreamed that a ghost offered her nice food to eat, but she would not eat it. The children played games. They had an old buffalo hide and when the children came they would put one inside and throw him up. They played on the ice with red pipe-stone pipes and marbles. Four girls on each side faced each other, then they would shoot the marbles across to the other side with the pipes.

21. PRETTY WEASEL'S STORY.<sup>1</sup>

Years and years ago, — I can't say how far back — there were two young men playing and they threw loose dirt into each other's faces. That is how the Oglala tribe got its name.<sup>2</sup>

I have been in many battles with the Shoshone and the Crows and the Utes. I went on the war-path against the Shoshone in order to get some of their horses I wanted. I was eighteen. I belonged to the Fox society. About thirty of us went. We were all on horseback and as we came near to their district we saw tracks of the Shoshone going the other way. Just at daybreak when we knew that we were near them we made a charge and there was a hand to hand fight. I was shot with a bullet through the body here (indicating the abdomen) and it came out at my left hip and I fell and lay there. It was about one hour in time, as we know it in these days, that I lost consciousness. When I became conscious, I was lying on my back gazing into the sky. I heard a man on horseback

<sup>1</sup> Told by Pretty Weasel, Oglala, June 1926. He was 80 years of age and had belonged to Red Cloud's band.

<sup>2</sup> Dakota, Riggs, 163.

coming to me and when he got to me — well! well! well! it was a Blue Cloud!<sup>1</sup> I was young and small. He lifted me up and put me across the back of his horse. A band of Shoshone women who had sought refuge in some timber, when they saw this said:

Lil le lil le lil le lil le!<sup>2</sup>

I lost consciousness four times that day from the wound, therefore I have lived to be an old man because I have died once already.

## 22. LONG SOLDIERS' STORY.<sup>3</sup>

The first war in which I participated was when I was fourteen years old. We went to war against the Crow Indians who were camped west of Black Hills where Little Big Horn mountain is. As we attacked the Crows one of our warriors shot a Crow Indian down. There were two men ahead of me; the one in the lead had the first chance to hit the Crow that was down, the next had the second chance and I struck him third. I shot him with an arrow below his back and scalped him and hung the scalp on my girdle. In this same war the horse of one of my uncles was shot down, so I had to turn back and put him on behind me on my horse.

When I was about sixteen the Sioux Indians went to war with the Shoshone on the Little Big Horn. At night in camp I was tired and went to sleep. I heard what I thought were owls hooting about me; these hootings were the Shoshone Indians surrounding us. They shot at me but did not hit me.

Later at twenty years I went to war again with the Sioux against the Shoshone. They are a big tribe, hence they camp in a big round circle. There were three tents at the gateway into the circle, but I did not know for what purpose. I rode up and just shot them up and took away some horses. The following morning we had a fight and they killed the horse under me that I rode.

22b. The Sioux custom of fasting originated in ancient time and has come down from generations. So at the age of twenty-seven I wanted to go on a fast as is the usual custom. My relations put up a sweat-house and heated up rocks and put them inside and in I went. Then the door was

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<sup>1</sup> The Arapaho are friendly with the Sioux and accompany them on the war-path. The Sioux call them "Blue Clouds."

<sup>2</sup> This trill of applause is always used by the women to cheer a brave deed or some skilful feat at the dance. "He kept coming, coming, coming!" translated the informant, and emphasized the fact that although this was the act of an enemy, the women cheered his courage in endangering himself to save the lad.

<sup>3</sup> Told at Kyle, July 3, 1926. Long Soldier came from Porcupine and was over 80 years of age. Neither he nor the lad who acted as interpreter were reliable informants, the experiences being merely typical for the group, like a fisherman's story.



opened and I came out and rubbed (myself) with sage. The Indian that originated the fast prepared me to go. He put on a buffalo robe. He took me up to a high hill where there was nobody and he ordered me to face toward the east where the sun would come up, holding my pipe in my hand, and to cry to God: "God have mercy! I want to live a long life." I must have had my prayer answered for I live today. I stood there all night and toward daylight I prayed God: "God have mercy on me! I want to live long and have lots of good things." I was asleep and I saw a bunch of horses come to me. I got up to see whose the horses were and they were all gone — there was nothing. And while I was up on the hill fasting, a thunder-storm came and rain just poured down, but the place where I was standing did not have even a drop of rain. I told my medicine man and he said it was all right, — I was to live long and have lots of good things.<sup>1</sup>

### 23. AN INDIAN DANCING ASSOCIATION.<sup>2</sup>

In early days when they had no law they had three dances. Two were rather warlike, but the third was a mild dance called the Mandan (*Mawa'-tani*). It is hard to tell who started it. The Yankton had it, the Teton had it and the Tetonais, but not the Santee. It might have come from the Mandan — don't know!

This was not a tribal affair but a dancing association. They got up their own rules and became so popular that the others depended upon them. Part of the time there was famine, but if anyone quarreled over a piece of meat he was debarred; anyone who was immoral was debarred; if anyone was caught quarreling he was dropped from the dance; if anyone got into a malicious fight he was debarred. (Suppose) one of the members is going off; if he drops his knife accidentally he never stops to pick it up, — another member has it. Old men, old women, orphan children, they (the members) are kind to them and if they are destitute

<sup>1</sup> For the training of a boy among the Dakota and allied tribes and the attitude toward vision see Dakota, Riggs, 209, 219; Mandan, 386—388. Omaha, 27th Annual Report, pages 114—133; Sioux, J. O. Dorsey, 11th Annual Report, 373, 435—438, 475. Members of the Omaha and Ponka tribes say that "when they went on the warpath for the first time, their names were then changed and one of the old men was sent to the bluffs to tell the news to the various Wakandas including the bluffs, trees, birds, insects, reptiles, etc."

<sup>2</sup> Given by Antelope, Greenwood, July, 1926. Antelope was an old man of 78 years who had been a Christian for 50 years and was an elder in the Presbyterian church. His other name was Red Gourd. It is customary to give boys a certain name at birth. After they grow up and have some adventure they get a second name commemorating the adventure. "I was named Antelope as a boy, but when I went to Fort Berthold to the Gros Ventres they gave me the name of Red Gourd," he explained. There are also "play names" given to a man.

they are under obligations to help them. If a man with a family has bad luck, one of the Mawátani will give him a horse to help him. So that association was in a responsible position; whatever they said the others would listen to. It was an association by itself, not tribal; but it had the respect of the rest of the tribe and what these said the others respected. There were chiefs of the tribe who were the head men (of the tribe), but all respected this association and trusted their decisions if they laid plans for the chase.

When they were going to select leaders they got up a binding oath. They fixed up a blue cloth with eagle's feathers all over as a token of their pledge. To prove that a man was sincere they stripped him in the crowd and painted him red, and no one would laugh or comment. To prove their strong hearts they put burning coals in the palms of their hands and they would take four steps and then not drop the coal without making four motions to lay it down. A man applies for membership. If he knows himself strong enough to meet the tests — to receive only a small piece of meat without complaint, raise no fuss even if a man runs off with his wife — he joins the association. No young men belong because too easily tempted; middle-aged men alone are firm enough for membership. The leader is elected and then makes his own name by glory in war.

There was no regular time (for the dance). If two tribes came together there might be several dances in succession (by members of the association) then they would scatter out. (At this time) they would strip a new member and present him with the (blue) cloth. They all had a different dress — a buffalo robe painted light red on the tanned side. They take owl's feathers and make a big bunch and paint it red and wear it as a bonnet. They take strips of hide and put dyed porcupine quills at the ends and bind the forehead. They pull up one foot as they dance and blow a flute tied about the neck. They pound the drum, — so, and sing. If some one has his wife stolen he sings:

Who would fight over a woman?

It is only the dogs that will fight,

and he is respected. Furthermore, there might be two men in the same tribe one of whom has killed the other and the relatives are likely to quarrel over it; then this society makes peace. They sing:

The feather is the strongest (i. e. glory in war)

But what do a few earthly belongings amount to?

and they give presents to the family of the one who has suffered in order to settle the quarrel.

24. THE GOOD OLD DAYS.<sup>1</sup>

Long ago the Yankton used to live right together in a circle composed of 750 tipi. Men did not scatter out in their thoughts. Older men would do the thinking and the younger would abide by it. So they got along well. The older men laid the plans for providing for the families, their food and welfare. The young men were put in as soldiers and helped to keep order. A young man is not always thoughtful; instead of reporting when he sees a herd of buffalo he may go out by himself and scare away the buffalo. Then the rest would take hatchets and cut up all his property and probably give him a beating besides. But since they have wanted to listen to the white men who have settled here, all is changed. Some young men and women have learned good lessons but then they have returned and thrown away all they have learned and made themselves unmanly. Many of our young people are without homes of their own. The white people tell us the most valuable thing is the earth, but these young people will not hold on to it. Education is good, but our young people do not abide by it. You give them good learning, but they come back and throw it away.

25. WHEN MEN GO TO WAR.<sup>2</sup>

When people go to war, when they come within sight of the enemy they paint their horses blue or grey or they wash them over with common dirt and they say, "God pity me; make my horse run fast so that I can kill the enemy; then God shall see my face" (i. e. they pledge themselves to dance the sun-dance). If they come out victorious — strike an enemy or something — they give a sun-dance. Some have roots and herbs tied up around the horse or themselves. This they do for medicine. Here and there a man thinks to make medicine and others get it from him, — tie it on hair and so forth. All dress in their best and paint their faces, but not all the same. One man will paint himself yellow with dark blue paint across the eyes and figures like deer-horns coming out from the corners of the mouth. This form of painting was taught him by the medicine man.

26. A PEACE CEREMONY.<sup>3</sup>

Mrs. Walker was present at a peace ceremony between two hostile tribes. Two old men, one from each of the hostile tribes, came forward to represent the tribes and smoked a peace-pipe. The representative of the tribe attacked smoked the pipe first and then handed it to the representative of the aggressor tribe, who also smoked and then carried the pipe about to each person within the lodge. The white visitors were told that

<sup>1</sup> Given by Standing Bull, an old man of 78, Greenwood, July, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Charles Long Rock, Cheyenne, July, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> Given by Mrs. Walker, wife of the old Indian clergyman at Fort Thompson, July, 1926.



they might stroke the pipe instead of smoking it. The aggressor tribe chose a young boy to whom each of the old men gave a piece of meat, laying it upon his tongue so that the boy did not touch it with his hands. Afterwards he was given drink. Both meat and drink had been "made medicine" by the medicine man.

#### 27. HOW THE PEACE-PIPE WAS FORMED.<sup>1</sup>

In old days an old man came down to earth. He motioned to the medicine-men and chiefs of two rival tribes to come together and he told them how the world was big enough for all and the animals were given them to hunt, not man. But that had not been enough for them, they must kill one another. So they had fought and killed, and the blood that flowed down the river had come together and formed the red pipe-stone. The stone is the blood of Indians.<sup>2</sup> He made the shape of a pipe and sent them down to the reeds for a stem and wove it about with porcupine-quills of mixed colors — in old times a color for each direction. Where the old man stepped was formed a bluff, and there live two fire women who make figures on the bluff.<sup>3</sup>

#### 28. BURIAL CUSTOMS.<sup>4</sup>

There are two ways of burial. One is to dig out a hollow, put in the body and cover it with earth. The other is to lay the body upon a platform made by setting up four posts with cross-sticks and laying poles across. The body is wrapped in buffalo robes, laid straight upon the platform, and tied there.

The family provide the clothing for the dead, but those outside the family wrap the body. The women of the family slash their legs and cut their hair. A man whittles sharp sticks and thrusts through the skin of arms or legs. There is no feast during the mourning. From the time of death until after the burial, special songs for the dead are sung by friends

<sup>1</sup> Told by the Rev. Philip Deloria at Lake Andes, July, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> In Arikara, page 25, blood from the slaying of the original buffalo, "whose horns seemed to reach the sky," is said to have sunk into the earth and to have become hardened into stone from which later the tribe made their pipes.

Compare the Osage ritual in which the pipe and the red boulder of which it is made are used as life symbols, the red boulder being the symbol of endurance and of the sun. La Flesche, 36th Annual Report, pages 61—62; 195—198.

<sup>3</sup> Siouan, McLaughlin, 104—107.

<sup>4</sup> Told by Charles Long Rock in Cheyenne, July, 1926. See Death and Burial lore in Dorsey, 11th Annual Report, page 485; The Arikara Consolation Ceremony, by Melvin R. Gilmore, in Indian Notes, Vol. 3, pages 256—274. Museum of the Heye Foundation, New York, 1926; Mandan, 392—3.

outside the family. If a man was noted in war, some other old man not connected with the family does the singing for him. It is the same for a promising young man. The only case where a man sings for his own family is for a son killed in war.

After a death, they moved the baggage out of the tent in which it occurred, loosened the bottom of the tent, wrapped the body and carried it outside. Friends, not the family, carried the dead and they were paid for this service. The body is buried facing the east.

After the burial, if it is a child that is dead, a man may fill his pipe and go out to the grave and smoke beside the dead. Or he may throw moccasins away and go about barefoot. In this way he expresses his grief.

#### 29. THE FOURTH OF JULY DANCES AT KYLE.<sup>1</sup>

The object of the dance is merely social. Four chiefs and a chairman make up the committee. The chairman is chosen every year. This year he was Oscar Brave Eagle. The chiefs were Thomas American Horse, Little Wound from Medicine Root, Feather Ear from Medicine Root, and Spotted Horse. The committee appoints young men of good families at the dance of one year to collect money for the dance of the next. A penny decorated with a ribbon is given to each, which must be returned in a handsomely beaded bag or tobacco pouch the next year to be redistributed with the bag to the young man who is chosen to collect for the next year. He is supposed to bring with the penny whatever beadwork he can get made for him and the money he is able to collect. Out of every five dollars he gets ten percent for himself. It is thought an honor to be chosen on the committee. The celebration fund amounts to from \$150.00 to \$200.00. Out of this they buy groceries and pay musicians and dancers. The dancers get from \$1.00 to \$2.00 a day. The musicians get \$2.00 for two days. In old days everyone put up an old time tipi and a shade (called *ohazig.lepi* "keep-out-of-the-sun"). There are different

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Charley American Horse, brother of the chief, at Kyle, June, 1926. The Indians came in on Wednesday night, the 30th of June, and by Sunday, the 4th of July, the affair was about ended. As each band came in, it was given a place according to its district in the circle formed about the parade ground belonging to the reservation. In the center of this ground a pole was erected and about it was constructed a circular bower surrounding the dance-space, which was open to the sky. The bower was made of a double row of posts across which logs were laid and the whole shaded with boughs. At the east end an entrance space was left to admit the dancers. Spectators ranged themselves in the shade of the bower. Leafy bowers were also erected in front of certain tents in the outer circle of campers. These belonged to the "Pennies" or persons who had been designated the year before to prepare a "give-away" for the dance the following season. Only the older people took part in the dancing. The singing and drumming was done by the young boys.

dances. In the War dance the step is straight up and down and the drum beats slowly. In the Omaha dance the dancers wear feathers and "dress up fancy with bells" and perform fancy steps. In the women's dance the women stand all in line and edge around slowly. The Rabbit dance is a recent innovation from Standing Rock. Men and women dance together. (It is the hesitation waltz, both in step and melody). The costume marks rank or achievement. A single feather stuck at the back of the head marks a chief. One who carries a whip in his hand has stolen a horse from the enemy. If he carries a hatchet he has wounded his enemy. Feathers painted red stuck in the hair show how many times the man has been wounded in battle.

Besides the public dances in the dance circle about the central pole, there are a number of dramatic performances. One provides for making presents to those who are left unsupported or in want. The action represents an old-time scouting party. Two old men sit before the shelter at the entrance to the dancing circle with leaves before them to represent the enemy. The musicians drum and sing scout songs. A procession on horseback approaches. The leader howls four times like a wolf before he gets to the old men and when he meets them he says, "Down on the Cheyenne River the enemy camps." The old man lights his pipe and gives it to the leader, telling him to smoke it and tell the truth about what he has seen. The leader smokes it and returns it to the other old man. When the three have smoked it each member of the party gives a present, often to some orphan or poor person. While this distribution of presents is going on the scouting party is within the dance circle.

Early in the morning of the (?) day, the "morning charge" takes place.<sup>1</sup> It represents the return of a war party. After a sham battle at the river-side, where a party of horsemen tear off green branches from the trees and hang them upon their horses, the party parades through the camp singing a war song. They do this because in old times when they went to war and took scalps, if they returned at night they had to wait outside until daylight and then enter the camp with shouts, singing their war-song (the same to which they dance). The leaves with which they decorate the horses today represent the scalps and clothing which they used to bring back on their horses.

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<sup>1</sup> The Omaha have a ceremony before the sacred pole which is equivalent to this of the "morning charge." It dramatizes the defensive warfare of the group. "The young men ride off outside the camp, then charge upon the camp. They then let loose horses while warriors act out upon grass puppets the deeds of valor performed in defensive warfare." Twenty-seventh Annual Report, 243, 247, and 450—467 for a similar performance by Hidatsa and Minnetaree. Compare note 2, No. 3, for discussion of the Sun Dance.



## 29b. THE FOURTH OF JULY DANCES.

The program of dances at Pine Ridge for the celebration of the Fourth included:

1. Omaha Dance.
2. Fox Dance
3. War Dance.
4. Owl Dance.
5. Buffalo Dance.
6. White Horse Dance.
7. Firelight Dance.
8. Night Dance.
9. Sun Dance.
10. Victor Dance.
11. Red Cross Collection Dance.
12. Badger Dance.
13. Crow Dance.
14. ?

The 11th is a new dance originated by a man named Reed.

An Omaha Dance song runs:

*Iyasica tamakoce kiiwacu ca lehankesa ekta wicace ya hé*

I took away his land from the German, hence now, even now, over there they ave crying.

A Fox Dance song runs:

*Aye eha ha ya he eye eha ha yahe*

*Aye eha ha ya he eye eha ha yahe*

*T'ok'ai'la kî naya'p'api c'a Og.na Iyake éna yúké.*

and is sung for the death of a young Indian belonging to the Fox society who was killed in trying to escape from the enemy. The translation is offered somewhat literally:

Foxes, because you have all run away, only He-Runs-Through lies dead!

A War Dance song runs:

*Aye ye aheya he ya he hé*

*Ahe ya he eye ye ya eahe ye e*

*aheyo ya aheyo he*

*Eha'ni he'c'amukta ca ec'e'l ob.la'ka yahe lo ho*

*Naya'h'upi huwó he e*

*Ahe ye he ahe yu he yo.*

Did you not hear it? I have been long telling that I was going to do this.

This is an old song which alludes to the boast before going out on the war-path that the man will kill a member of the hostile tribe or take some horses from them. On the expedition therefore he fulfils his boast.

30. SPIDER (IKTOMI).<sup>1</sup>

"Spider was a man in the early days just like any person. There is so much devilment in spiders that the Indians think the spiders today come from the blood of the early people. Spider comes into all these stories, but he generally gets killed, so there must be more than one 'Spider.' " So says Left Heron. Garnett says that Spider was a supernatural being who was able to do anything. His idea is that "each district has its Unktomi." Mrs. Hollowhorn says "Iktomi" is "a man who is always misleading others and looking out for mischief."

Fielder describes Iktomi as "a small man, very shrewd and witty and very quick in making decisions. He used odd strategy in gaining his point. He was known by his tight brown leggings — very tight! — made of a poor quality of skin. They came up *this* way (illustrating) and had a strap that went into his belt. He had a yellow scar on the side of each thigh which was made when at one time they grabbed him and threw him into a tent and he fell into the fire and burnt both of his thighs; hence he was known as 'Yellow Thigh.' No one speaks of his having any relatives, but they call him 'younger brother' (*Misų*) and sometimes ridicule him.

<sup>1</sup> Siouan Cults Eleventh Annual Report, 471—473; (Oglala) Dakota, Walker, 90, 95, 113; (Wahpeton) Dakota, Wallis, 38—40, 57—59.

The Tetons say Iktomi or Ikto; the Santee, Unktomi; the Omaha and Ponka, Ictinike; the Iowa, Oto and Missouri, Ictinke. The Tetons say that Iktomi was the first being to attain maturity in this world. He is more cunning than human beings. He it was who named all the people and animals (see Wallis in Wahpeton Dakota, 71—73) and he was the first to use human speech. Walker's Oglala informant attributed the making of the world and all within it to Wakȳya (Thunder), but "Iktomi made the unpleasant things." He gave the pattern for the arrowhead and the war-club and taught men to use black paint. With Iya and Ukte'hi he influences certain diseases. He has the power of transformation, being "one in many forms." He can make things happen by merely wishing. In Mandan, 359—360, the "lord of life" created the "first man" Numank Machana. "He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways" and is given divine honor, as second in rank to his creator."

Iktomi is associated with Waziya, Iya and Ukte'hi in bringing mischief into a gathering. Walker says that an old stranger, unless he can be identified, is expelled from the Dance Lodge lest he turn out to be Waziya in disguise, and a young stranger, lest he be Iktomi. Rattles are sounded to drive away Iktomi before the *huka* ceremony.

The folklore of the spider demands that before crushing a spider one should say, "O Grandfather Spider, the Thunder beings kill you," so that the Spider Spirit may feel himself powerless to avenge the injury. One should never crush a spider with the hand lest the spider throw sand in one's eyes and make them sore. The hunter fills a pipeful to Iktomi for success in the chase.

Iktomi is the father of lies; one who tells a lie is subject to his trickery.

"Ictinike was journeying" is the regular opening for the Omaha trickster story.

They call a spider 'Ikto' because a spider is able to climb a tree, walk on water and do supernatural things. He can set a net to catch people. He can do things that human beings can't do, so he must be mysterious. It is never thought that Iktomi changes into the shape of a spider."

30a. Wĭ'KTE.<sup>1</sup>

Wĭ'kte is the term used for an hermaphrodite at the Pine Ridge reservation. Seventy-eight years ago the Sioux found a party of Crow on the war-path and killed all but one. This one, being dressed like a woman, was saved, but when she turned out to be a Wĭ'kte they killed her. Garnett, who gave this information, never knew but one hermaphrodite. He lived at Allen and had a wife, but he was a genuine hermaphrodite. There is one still living at Manderson who is said to have tastes like a woman. Today when the Indians want to tell smutty stories they tell Wĭ'kte stories, not Iktomi as they used. They regard Wĭ'kte as a human being but with something supernatural about him. They do not exactly worship him, but they believe him to be mysterious. During the war it was believed that a man would become invulnerable if he cohabited with a Wĭ'kte.

31. IKTOMI AND STONE BOY.<sup>2</sup>

It was night-time. Toward morning Iktomi saw someone going ahead of him. At daylight he caught up with the man and went along with him. They came to a place where an old buffalo stood sharpening his horns against a boulder. The man asked the buffalo, "Grandfather, what are you doing?" The buffalo said, "Stone Boy has killed a beloved child and he has got away and we are going to follow and try to find him. I want to do something to help if only to tear down the lodge-poles!" The man approached and said, "Grandfather, I am Stone Boy himself!" He pushed the buffalo off the bank and jumped upon him until he had crushed his ribs.

<sup>1</sup> When a boy fasts at puberty it is unlucky to dream of the moon. When she appears she holds a bow and arrows in one hand and a packstrap in the other. If the boy grasps at the weapon she will cross her hands so quickly that he is likely to get the strap and be condemned to the hermaphrodite condition. See *Siouan Cults*, 378: Omaha, 132—133; *Skidi Pawnee*, 199—203.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Charles Long Rock, Cheyenne River Agency, July, 1926. (Oglala) Dakota, Wissler, *JAFL*, 20: 202. (Wahpeton) Dakota, Wallis, *JAFL*, 36: 59. Spider and Stone quarrel over which shall be "younger brother." Spider walks on water and challenges Stone to do the same. In Mandan, 362, the "first man" and the "lord of life" dispute over which is father and which son. They plant their medicine sticks, sit facing each other, and agree that he who first rises is the younger. After ten years the bones of the "lord of life" seem to be decomposed. The "first man" rises and pulls up the medicine stick, but the "lord of life" stands up and claims the victory. The two then go about bettering conditions on the earth.



They went on their way. Iktomi said to the other, "You will be my younger brother." The man said, "No, you will be my younger brother, for I have killed something you are afraid of." They argued the matter until they came to a very high bank with deep water down at the bottom. They sat down on the bank. Iktomi got up and pushed Stone Boy over the bank. Stone Boy sank down to the bottom of the river and never came up. You can still see the bubbles coming out of the water where he went in.

### 32. IKTOMI, MINCEMEAT AND PEMMICAN.<sup>1</sup>

Mincemeat and Pemmican went on a journey. Mincemeat said, "Twin<sup>2</sup>, you and I are good friends and we shall always remain such. Let us stand by one another because this is a dangerous journey." On the other side of the ridge they met Ikto. He was feeling very hungry when right in front of him he saw Mincemeat and Pemmican side by side. He quickly contrived a plan. He said, "Brothers, you look very tired. Sit down and I will give you a smoke and we will rest." Soon Ikto said, "Just excuse me a moment!" and he went over a little hill and then came back. Mincemeat said, "Just excuse me a moment!" and when Mincemeat came back Ikto said, "While you were away Pemmican said bad things about you; he said he would kick you. Why don't you kick him?" Then the two started to kick each other until they broke each other up. Ikto laid down his pipe and had a good feast.

To this day, two good friends might get along nicely but there's always some one who gets them to kick at each other.

### 33. IKTO AND THE BUZZARD.<sup>3</sup>

Ikto sat by a stream of deep water crying because he wanted to get across. Up above circled a great buzzard. Ikto said, "Younger brother, younger brother, I wish you could help me to cross this river<sup>4</sup>!" — "Yes, you are so pitiable, get on my back and I will take you across." Ikto said, "Younger brother, do not tip so much in flying, I am afraid!" Again Ikto said, "Oh, brother! I like this ride! Go fly to yonder camp and soar above the heads of the people." The people looked up and said, "There is Ikto riding on the buzzard and making the buzzard obey him!" Ikto enjoyed the ride so much that he shouted "Oh, ho-e ho-e ho-e ho-e!"

<sup>1</sup> Told by Joseph Eagle Hawk, Oglala, June, 1926. *Wasna'* is the name for choke-cherries and dried meat chopped together with suet and sugar and pressed into cakes. *Waka'p'api* is meat dried in strips in the sun, then broiled over the coals until crisp and pounded up fine with marrow fat.

<sup>2</sup> *C'ekapa'* is the word used for "twin."

<sup>3</sup> Told by Joseph Eagle Hawk, Oglala, June, 1926. Wahpeton Dakota, Wallis, 73—75; Caddo, 97—99; Omaha, J. O. Dorsey, 77—78; Skidi Pawnee, 251—252.

<sup>4</sup> Ikto is said to use a nasal voice in this story.

He was feeling so fine up there that he shook out his fist at the buzzard and the buzzard saw the shadow of Ikto's fist on the ground.<sup>1</sup> Down below was a hollow tree with a large hole at the top. Making a few circles above it the buzzard dropped Ikto down into the hole.

Ikto down in the hole could do nothing but cry and cry. He heard some women outside gathering wood and a thought came to him. He sang:

I am a fat bob-tailed coon in here

When they dig me out (they will get) a lot of grease.<sup>2</sup>

The women said "Hark!" Ikto sang again a little louder. One woman said "My! you hear that? He says he is in there and very fat." Without another word they began to chop the tree. Ikto drew up his legs until the hole was large enough for him to crawl out. The first thing they saw were the yellow thighs by which they recognized Ikto. — "Much obliged! I was nearly dead," said Ikto. If the women had not come to chop the tree Ikto would not have lived to have any more stories told about him.

### 34. IKTO'MI AND THE PRAIRIE DOGS.<sup>3</sup>

There was an Ikto'mi going along and he came to a Prairie Dog town. He thought, "How can I get something to eat?" A wolf came along and he asked him, "How can we fool these Prairie Dogs and get some to eat?" The wolf answered, "If you are not cunning enough, how can you expect me to be?" Ikto'mi said, "My brother, I will pull off your long hair so they will not know you, and we will sing to them." So he pulled out all the wolf's hair, leaving only that around the wrists, lower ankles, and

<sup>1</sup> To double up the hand and then open out the fingers is considered an insult among the Sioux.

<sup>2</sup> *Wic'a uż'i'ca c'epa lel make*

Coon bob-tailed fat here I sit

*Oma'k'a iyutapi c'qšna ig.li maa'ta*

To dig me out they try then always fat there is plenty to me.

The coon is commonly known as *wi-ci-te-igle-ga*, face-spotted, but in song it is called *wica*. It is a tradition that any bob-tailed animal is fat.

<sup>3</sup> Told by Antelope, Greenwood, July, 1926. In other Dakota versions (see Riggs, 113; Oglala Dakota, Wissler, JAF, 20: 122—123; Wahpeton, Wallis, 93) Spider sings to the ducks with their eyes closed as in the familiar "Bad Songs" version. Compare Assiniboine, 111—116; Arapaho, 59—61; Osage, 9; Omaha 67—69; and the Starboy's trick with the snakes and blackbirds, Arikara 48, 53, where he shuts the blackbirds into the hut, and lulls the snakes to sleep, then cuts off their heads one by one, only one awaking in time to escape. In Goddard's version from the Jicarilla-Apache, page 230, Coyote kills the prairie-dogs in the dance after seeing that their houses are closed so that they cannot escape. Also in Lowie's Shoshone story, JAF, 37: 37—38, Suna-wavi hoodwinks the prairie dogs. In Cheyenne, Kroeber, JAF, 13: 165, the visit is to Prairie Dog Town and dogs, ducks, geese and cranes all dance.

around the face, — left him otherwise bare as a human. So after that they ran down by the lake and got some feathers and made a pipe and sang,<sup>1</sup>

This is your chief, this is your chief,  
Prairie Dogs, this is your chief.

*De huka, de huka*  
*Pispiza, de huka*

Ikto'mi sang and Wolf waved the pipe. Ikto'mi proclaimed, "I come to sing over the Prairie Dogs that are white, over the Prairie Dogs that are red, over the Prairie Dogs that are yellow, over the Prairie Dogs that are blue!" — "Wait! we'll go and tell," said the Prairie Dogs that heard him, and they ran back. Sure enough all these colors came. He told them, "We came to sing only to you four colors, but go back and tell all the rest to come as spectators<sup>2</sup>." They built a *wak'e'ya*, put up some little stakes, and placed the four Prairie Dogs at the end where they were going to sing to them. Prairie Dogs all crowded in. Ikto'mi said to Wolf, "Take these two sticks and keep time and, when I have sung four times, use your limbs and I will do all I can." He said to the crowd, "There may be some away out on the borders who have not come; I will go and give them a last call." He ran out, went to each Prairie Dog hole and closed it up, then he returned and proclaimed that all were present. So then he began to sing:

*De huka' de huka',*  
*Pispiza, de huka'*

and after the fourth time, Wolf threw away the sticks and began to grab one after the other and kill him, while Ikto'mi despatched the rest. Of the crowd there, all were killed.<sup>3</sup>

They ate part and dressed the rest and left them. Ikto'mi went to sleep. He said, "Don't touch these Prairie Dogs, for Ground here will know it." At first the wolf was afraid to touch them, but at last he tried one and Ikto'mi still slept; so he ate one after another until all were gone, then he ran off. Ikto'mi woke up, looked all around; — wolf was gone, prairie-dogs were gone. He said, "You thin-faced beast, I will kill you for this!" and he started to make some arrows. He had two made when just then wolf came around. As Ikto'mi had taken all wolf's hair off he recognized him at once. The first arrow grazed his back, the second his stomach. "What are you doing?" said the wolf angrily. Ikto'mi said, "I was just thinking 'Oh! if I could hit something!' I was not meaning to hurt you!"

<sup>1</sup> The pipe is one decorated with feathers such as the Dakota Indians use for smoking on ceremonial occasions.

<sup>2</sup> In Wallis's version the birds are first decorated with paint for the dance.

<sup>3</sup> The Indians used to call the politicians "hay-packers" in reference to Iktomi who went about with songs on his back.



35. IKTO'MI AND IYA.<sup>1</sup>

My grandmother told me this story. Iya was an enormous animal who devoured animals and human beings. He would suck them in with his breath. There was a great tribe of Indians camping. A magpie appeared in camp and reported "There is a great Iya coming from the east. He has eaten up lots of people back there and is coming (this way)." Two young men were selected to go east and find the Iya. As they approached a camp the Iya was busy eating up the people. When they reported what they had seen the people began to cry.

The chiefs went into the *Ti'pi Iyo'k'eya*<sup>1</sup> (council tent) to plan out a way of escape from the Iya. One said, "Go and get Ikto'mi; he is good at devising plans." They asked Ikto, "Brother, how shall we escape Iya?" Ikto said, "Oh, that is not much to do! — that will take but a song! But you see I have neither bow nor arrows; bring me the bow that bends the most." So they brought him a bended bow and arrows. Ikto said, "Now I will go to meet Iya. And you, Magpie, you are always telling things. You go ahead and tell Iya that Ikto is coming and is very angry. Tell Iya to look at the moon and see how it is bent until it is nearly broken. Tell him that Ikto broke up the moon when he heard how his brothers had been killed, and that now he is coming to break him. And you people all follow me to that ridge yonder, then peep over just to the level of your eyes, but do not show yourselves further, while I go on ahead."

Iya appeared before Ikto with enormous mouth and belly, smelling this way and that way as if he scented the people ahead of him. With every breath he drew, trees and grass would all bend toward him; sometimes tumble-weed would roll into his great mouth.<sup>2</sup> Ikto'mi started to sing:

Elder brother, I have even fought with the moon!

Brother, brother, brother

Look at this bow and then look at the moon!<sup>3</sup>

Iya said "Wah!" and drew back. In the meantime Magpie made circles over Iya and said, "Ikto is very angry. He lost a brother and he has asked

<sup>1</sup> Told by Joseph Eagle Hawk, Oglala, June 17, 1926. J. O. Dorsey (11th Annual Report, page 471) describes Iya as "god of gluttony" who has power to twist and distort the human face. Walker (Sun Dance, page 88) gives him the form of "an enormous giant-man" who is "the cause of many diseases," and represents him as a butt for Ikto'mi's pranks. Fire and the incense of sweet-grass he fears, such as are employed in Dakota ceremonials in order to drive off evil visitors.

<sup>2</sup> This is a bit of local color. Dry plants of the shallow-rooted tumble-weed roll over the fields like thistle-down before the wind and are to be seen piled up against wire fences after a gale.

<sup>3</sup> *C'ie, wi ki e'kayēs kic'i' we'c'iza*

Elder brother, moon even with I (have) fought

*C'ie', C'ie', C'ie'!*

everybody on earth and he cannot find him, and he asked the Moon and the Moon said he didn't know.<sup>1</sup> Ikto got so angry that he bent and broke the moon and jerked a part of it away. He is coming with it for a bow!" This scared Iya. He said, "You tell Ikto to have pity on me and not harm me." Magpie flew back to Ikto and said, "He is afraid of you and he is ready to run." Ikto got so elated that he took an arrow and put it into his bow and shot it so high that no one knows what became of it. Magpie flew back to Iya and said, "Ikto is pretty mad. He shot arrows into the air that never came back!" — "I believe I will beat it," said Iya, and he turned to retreat; then Ikto got on top of him and ran along his body and shot arrows down into his body.<sup>2</sup>

The people looking on over the butte, when they saw that Ikto had killed Iya, ran and cut his stomach out of him and out of his stomach came whole bands of Indians (that Iya had formerly swallowed). Ikto said, "All of you bring in what dry wood you can find and pile it on and burn up Iya." That was the last big Iya ever seen alive. Ikto killed it, therefore there are no more Iyas today.

### 36. IKTO'MI AND IYA.<sup>3</sup>

Two young men who had been out scouting the country saw a large object in a valley on the sunny side of a hill. At intervals dust would fly up and roll in the air (above it). This was Iya asleep; every time he blew out his breath it blew a cloud of dust into the air. They returned and told their people that they had found Iya asleep. A great commotion arose in the camp. Everyone was excited. The head men gathered in the *tipioki* (council tent) and consulted how to avoid Iya. Finally they sent for Ikto'mi. He said, "It's nothing to settle a little thing like that!"

<sup>1</sup> The allusion to the loss of a brother as a cause for enmity is found also in the story of Stone Boy. It belongs to the flood story in which the water monsters carry off the younger brother of the culture hero.

<sup>2</sup> In the Arapaho flood story (Arapaho, 10, cf. 14) a swallowing "Wart" is overcome by placing a bow across its mouth, who then admits that the man is more powerful. So Old Woman's Grandchild kills the water monster in Lowie's Crow story, page 64.

<sup>3</sup> Told by Henry Fielder in English, Oglala, June, 1926. For other Dakota versions see Wissler, JAFI, 20: 121—122; Walker, 190—191, and 217—219 where Iktomi and Buffalo Spirit exchange fears. In a Northern Shoshonean story, page 271, Mountain Lion feigns death and discovers from Skunk that the only thing he is afraid of is "whistling." Compare Cheyenne, JAFI, 34: 314—315; JAFI, 13: 184.

In Aarne's collection of Finnish tales, the stupid devil is afraid of "what rustles or rattles." See Folklore Fellows Communications No. 5, page 107, type 1145, and Thompson's translation, No. 74, page 155. The story seems to be associated with that of the water monster's fear of thunder, number 13 of this collection.

Ikto went out to meet Iya, carrying a big bundle of dried turtle-shells. He threw these in Iya's face, saying "Chew on these, you lazy old brute! I just ate up a whole band of Indians myself and these are the bones." Iya drew in his breath and brought Ikto pretty close. Ikto said, "Brother, when were you born?" — "The same time they made the earth." — "That is not very long ago! I'm the fellow that made all the animals, and come to think of it, I made a big old one when I didn't know what to make next and that must have been you!"

Then Ikto asked Iya what he was afraid of and Iya said he was afraid of whistles, rattles, drums and bells, but what he hated worst was shouting. Ikto said that was just the same with him. He told Iya to stay there and he would go back to camp and divide up and they would have a feast together. He would eat all on the left and Iya all on the right.

Ikto went back to camp and told the people to get whistles and rattles, bells and drums, and be ready to shout when he told them. He went on ahead and the others lined up ready to use the instruments. When the people rushed out with them and shouted, old Iya fainted.

### 36a. TWO FACE.<sup>1</sup>

Once upon a time there was a tribe of Dakota Indians camped at a place and some of the young men agreed to go out on a hunting trip. It was rumored that a person with two faces was wont to come up from the south who would draw in trees with his breath as if by a big wind. Soon the Two Face (Anų'k-Ite') drew near. The people appealed to Ikto'mi to save them. Ikto'mi went out to meet him and called out, "Younger brother (Misų), why do you come here?" — "To devour the tribe encamped here." — "Before you attack I have a question; when were you born?" — "I have always been in existence since the creation of earth and the creation of heaven." Ikto'mi said, "Now I recollect! I am the man who created the earth and the heaven, and at that time I created an ugly-looking monster that must have been you!" And Iktomi said, "Tell me what you are afraid of and in return I will tell you what I am afraid of." The monster replied, "I am afraid of the eagle-bone whistle and the drum. When they beat the drum, it almosts puts me into a trance. And also shouting, — those three things I am afraid of." Ikto'mi said, "Brother, I am afraid of the very same things; you and I are just alike." He said again, "Brother, if you will wait I will go over to this band of Indians to scout and then we shall approach one on one side, the other on the other." Ikto'mi ran home and the band awaited the

<sup>1</sup> Told by Mrs. Susie Hollowhorn, Manderson, June, 1926. This familiar Iya story was told in answer to the question whether the narrator knew any stories about Two Face. In the Northern Cheyenne version of *Falling Star* by Grinnell, JAFLL 34: 314, it is "Double Eyes" who confides to the hero "if the people . . . caught me and threw some grease into the fire, and rattled on a medicine rattle, I should fall down dead."



report. He bade them get eagle-bone whistles and drums and to blow the whistles and beat the drums and shout. When he returned to the monster it was so hungry that every time it breathed it almost drew Ikto'mi into its mouth. Ikto'mi said, "Brother, if I should breathe so I would draw you in with my breath!" and he said, "Rise and let us make our attack." The monster was so big that Ikto'mi had to run to keep up with it, and as it advanced it made the earth shake. As they drew near the people blew their whistles and beat their drums and shouted and the monster fell down struggling so that the whole earth trembled, and presently it died.

Ikto'mi bade them build a fire and burn the monster; so they secured two flints and soft dry grasses and striking the flints they got a flame and they gathered dry twigs and soon there was a great fire. Every little while they heard a pop and out would fly a gold spoon from its body, but still they put on more wood. When Ikto'mi saw the objects of value flying about he said, "Let us take none of these things lest we too be hypnotised; let us leave them all here." After the burning the people all went back to the village without taking any of the valuables. A few days later Ikto'mi was sent to examine the heap and found nothing there. So he commanded the people to move to a certain place which he had picked out.

### 37. IKTO'MI AND BUFFALO.<sup>1</sup>

Ikto'mi was going hungry and all the buffalos seemed fat but Ikto'mi was not fat. So he went to the buffalo and asked to be changed into a buffalo. The buffalo told him to stand a little way off from him and he would run over him and change him into a buffalo. But Ikto'mi wouldn't stand still, — he started to run away. The buffalo tried again and this time Ikto'mi stood still and the buffalo ran over him and he was become a buffalo. He went with the others and grew fat and everyone who went by noticed him. One day there was a hungry fox came along and asked Ikto'mi to change him into a buffalo. So Ikto'mi told him to stand a little way off and he would change him. The fox stood still and Ikto'mi ran over him; but instead of the fox being changed into a buffalo, Ikto'mi was changed back into Ikto'mi.

### 37a. THE WOLF-BUFFALO.<sup>2</sup>

There was a wolf and he had had the misfortune of finding nothing to eat and he was weak. He was going along and he came to a buffalo. Wolf said, "Oh! if I could only get a part of this meat!" He kept going on and sitting down, going on and sitting down, until Buffalo took pity on him.

<sup>1</sup> Told by Charley American Horse, Kyle, July 2, 1926. In the Wahpeton Dakota version, Wallis, JAFI, 36: 97—98, the elks transform Spider. Compare Arikara, Dorsey, 100; Caddo, 101; Omaha, J. O. Dorsey 106; Osage, 10; Pawnee, 449; Wichita, 278; Cheyenne, JAFI, 13: 170.

<sup>2</sup> Told by Antelope, Greenwood, July, 1926.

Buffalo said, "Are you hungry?" Wolf answered, "Yes, I'm just about ready to die; it is all I can do just to get around." Buffalo said, "Have you a strong heart?" Wolf said, "Yes." Buffalo said, "Go over there and stand sidewise and I shall go over there and attack you." Wolf went over and stood with his side to him and the Buffalo began to bellow and throw the dirt about. The wolf was in agony. As the buffalo got to him he jumped aside. Buffalo said, "I'm going to try you four times and that will be your last chance." Three times the wolf jumped aside, the fourth time he said to himself, "Why be afraid? I am dying anyway of starvation!" and the fourth time when the buffalo jumped on him, there were two buffalos whose horns rattled against each other. So Buffalo went away and Wolf-buffalo fed on the grass and drank the fresh water and grew fat.

One day he saw another wolf. He said to him, "Are you hungry?" Wolf said, "Yes, I am dying of starvation." Buffalo said, "You stand with your side to me and I will attack you." The other wolf stood with his side toward him. When he said he was strong of heart, he had meant it. He did not jump aside and when the two met there were two wolves looking into each others eyes. Wolf said, "Why didn't I remain as a buffalo and have plenty to eat? Now I must be hungry as a wolf again."

There is a good thought. You come from a school, and there are a lot of young men and young women who will make use of what they get; but some will go back to the same point again.

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## BOOK REVIEWS.

THE TYPES OF THE FOLK-TALES. A Classification and Bibliography, STITH THOMPSON. Helsingfors, 1928 (Folklore Fellows Communications 74).

Antti Aarne's *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, which appeared in 1910 as *FF Comm* 3, was the first effort to classify folk-tales according to plot, classification according to subject-matter — stories about dogs, stones, etc. — being abandoned in favor of the more practical method. Aarne's index marks a definite stage of progress in the development of a workmanlike technique in the comparative study of the folk-tale. It gradually became apparent, however, that many of the types included were not of truly international dissemination, but were likely to be confined to Finland and Esthonia, that the summaries of tales were often too brief and cryptic to make the type clear, and that the various *motifs* within types were not analyzed in sufficient detail for practical use. Ten years after the appearance of *FF Comm* 3 began the publication of the greatest single contribution yet made to what one might call the "higher criticism" of the comparative study of the popular tale. The *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* by J. Bolte and G. Polívka (Leipzig, 1913—18, three volumes; Professor Bolte informs me that a fourth may be expected in 1930) is particularly distinguished for its immensely rich bibliographical notes and for its clear differentiation and analysis of the *motifs* within types.

When the Folklore Fellows entrusted the revision of Aarne's *Verzeichnis* to Mr. Thompson, they secured the services of a scholar endowed with analytical powers of an unusually high order. A philosophical grasp of what constitutes a type is not possessed by every student of the popular tale, and yet complete ignorance of this fundamental matter spells disaster. The analytical process may be observed by comparing, say, Type 709, "Snow-White," with Grimm, no. 53.

It goes without saying that an effort to cover a field so vast as that of the popular tale is certain to fall short of complete success. Mr. Thompson's addition of two hundred pages to Aarne's 75-page brochure has made the work incalculably more useful in that many European tales of wide dissemination are rendered accessible, and thus the index serves as a guide to the tales told by the peoples living along the lanes of cultural progress from east to west. The index as we now have it does not exhaust the material, however, and in spite of its great value it is therefore not so useful as subsequent editions will be. It occurs to me that a wise procedure might be for every scholar interested to notify Mr. Thompson of any types which should be in the index, including, of course, with the notification, pertinent bibliographical data. I wish, also, that we might have an article from Mr. Thompson's sapient hand defining clearly what constitutes a type.

A few types which I note as not occurring in the new index are "The Lover's Gift Regained" (Jakob Frey's "Gartengesellschaft," ed. Bolte, Tübingen, 1896, no. 76, notes p. 242; *FF Comm* 91, to appear in 1930),

"Virgil in the Basket" (Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*<sup>2</sup>, 2, 111ff., English translation Benecke, 325ff.; *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* XXVIII [1927] 69—75), a surprising omission, since the companion-tale, "Aristotle and Phyllis", is included as no. 1501. No. 763, "The Treasure Finders who Murder one Another," is Chaucer's "Pardoner's Tale," and no. 976, "Which was the Noblest Act?" is Chaucer's "Franklin's Tale," facts which might have been noted, together with the *loci* in Wells's *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*. No. 1352, "The Devil Guards the Wife's Chastity", seems similar to the story of "Friar Rush," and no. 1830, "In Trial Sermon the Parson Promises the Laymen the Kind of Weather they Want," reminds one of John Heywood's *Play of the Weather*.

In spite of whatever faults can be found, *The Types of the Folk-tale* is the most useful single work for the student of the popular tale. Misprints are relatively few. The typography is good, and spacing, an extremely difficult matter when the text is broken up by every variety of reference, is well handled.

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JOHN WEBSTER SPARGO.

DER URSPRUNG DER GOTTESIDEE. Eine Historisch-Kritische und Positive Studie; Teil II, Die Religionen der Urvölker; Band II, Die Religionen der Urvölker Americas, von P. Wilhelm Schmidt S. V. D. Germany 1929.

Father Schmidt's second edition of *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, I, Historisch-kritischer Teil, grown now to nearly 900 pages, is followed in this volume of well over 1000 pages by his first ethnographic compilation of material on the high gods. This installment is devoted to the Americas, to be followed by another devoted to the Asiatic pygmies and the Arctic peoples, and another to the primitives of Africa, the pygmies and Bushmen. When these are published, another volume will follow on the religion of nomadic hunters, and another on that of "matrilineal, totemistic peoples."

This undertaking is an outstanding example of the use of primitive mythology in the solution of an ethnographic problem. Father Schmidt asks the one question: "Did the most primitive cultures have high gods?" and this question he answers from their mythology. The peoples discussed in this volume, therefore, are the Urvölker of North America, chosen as illustrating its nether evolutionary level as the pygmies and Bushmen illustrate that of Africa. This is essential to the development of Father Schmidt's argument: that the high gods are the possession of the simple and primordial peoples of this world, and belief in them is lost sight of in cultures that have lost their pristine purity.

In this setting the mythological areas that Father Schmidt has considered here are amazing to anyone approaching the volume from the standpoint, let us say, of complexity of material culture, or even of mythology and ritual. One of the lengthiest analyses is accorded the Algonkins, especially the Central Algonkins; another to the central Californians with emphasis upon the Maidu and Wintun, and even the Haida and Tsimshian come in for consideration under a heading of the Northwest Indians.

The basis on which these regions are selected as typifying the most primitive groups of America is not critically discussed, and yet the whole

argument is involved in the selection. Logically for the development of his argument Father Schmidt has two courses to pursue: (1) making a constant of monotheism in North America, he could grade on some scheme of achievement in material culture or other cultural traits those tribes possessing the monotheistic idea; (2) making a constant of the lowest levels of complexity in North American civilization, he could list the creation myths and ideas of god found among these peoples and determine whether or not their beliefs were monotheistic. In either line of argument it is fatal to ignore all criteria for primitiveness, and to use as illustrations the Central Algonkins, such Siouans as the Iowa and the Winnebago, such Northwest Coast tribes as the Haida and the Tsimshian.

His assignment of low culture to these tribes is, of course, on the basis of his theory of the late and high culture of "matrilineal totemistic peoples." He therefore holds over Iroquois religion for the final volume of the whole series, while that of the Lenape falls among those of the Urvölker. Such seemingly arbitrary separations of culturally related regions are found throughout the volume, and on the other hand, he is able in a volume devoted to the real primitives of North America, to ignore the whole Dené culture.

The truth is that he has hardly made a real attempt to establish a correlation between high gods and real primitives; the whole volume is a piece of special pleading. But the real difficulty in doing justice to the work is that it is so hard to take seriously enough the great bearing of the problem it sets itself. The question at issue is possible only to a very special theoretical preoccupation. To one who does not share it, it seems one of the more figurative aspects of human culture, and possible enough that even the same people should use "god" for certain aspects of the external world and "gods" for other aspects. The whole matter is very slightly tied up with the psychological sets and total behavior of a people, and seems consequently less rewarding than the consideration of most other problems in culture. For this reason I imagine most Americanists will use this volume chiefly as a convenient compilation of much scattered mythological material with the setting of which they are already familiar.

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RUTH BENEDICT.



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